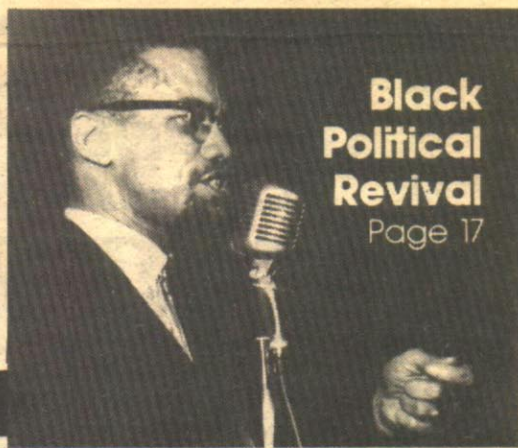


IN THESE TIMES



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Political
Revival
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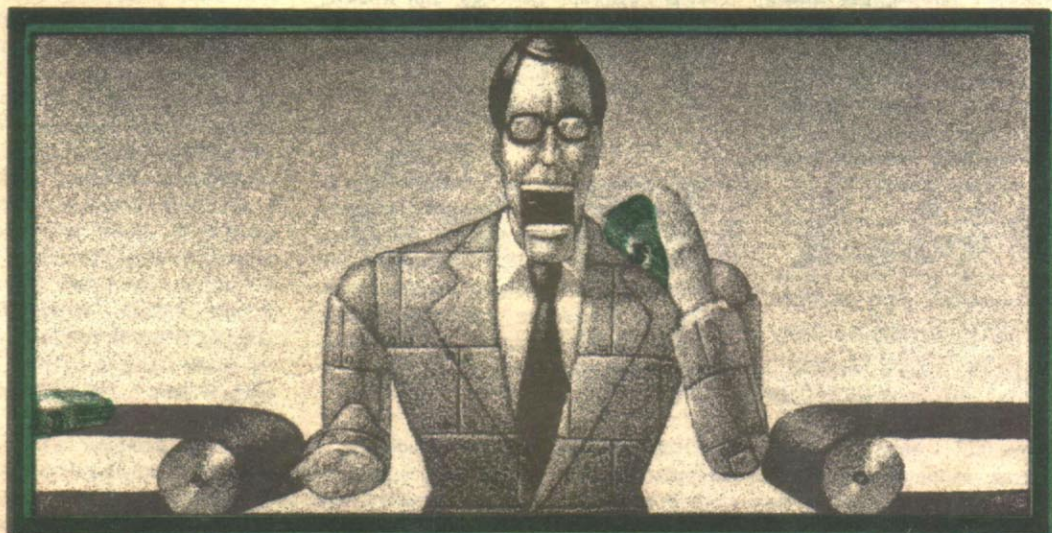
VOL. 4, NO. 32

AUGUST 13-26, 1980

75 CENTS

STAR STRIKE

Actors demand
a cut
of the profits
from home video



John Zielinski

Corporations
fatten up
on tax relief

THE INSIDE STORY



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Carter's problem: False promises or false premises?

By John Judis

Preparing to leave for New York for the Democratic convention, I came across an issues paper from the 1976 Jimmy Carter presidential campaign. The paper highlights the economic errors of the Gerald Ford administration. Most important among these were:

- Creation of a recession in an effort to slow down inflation, creating the worst of both evils at the same time;
- An "on-again, off-again" result to wage and price controls, badly designed and badly administered;
- An energy program that raised prices and failed to reduce consumption or stimulate new sources of production;
- Resistance to adopting a prompt counter-cyclical policy when recession became an unchallenged fact;
- A willingness to go along with the Federal Reserve System's high interest rates;
- And lack of the most elementary forms of planning or goals in the areas of energy, agriculture, transportation and growth.

I thought of offering this sorry document to the cash-strapped Edward Kennedy challenge. By replacing references to Ford with references to Carter, they could have a serviceable "issues paper" for the 1980 Democratic convention. But I thought better of it.

The real irony does not lie in Carter's false promises, but in the unintended continuity of political failure from one administration to another. If Ronald Reagan wins this November, I would bet that four years from now an opponent would be able to hold Reagan's issues papers up to similar ridicule. And if by some miracle Kennedy is nominated and elected or Anderson is elected, it will be possible to do the same with theirs.

Carter is, of course, inept, incompetent, insincere, and opportunistic, but what his opponents are unwilling to see or admit is that he is also a victim of the same historical circumstances and political premises that plunged his predecessor's approval ratings to historic lows, and would affect theirs similarly if they should be so unlucky as to succeed him.

Conflicting priorities.

Richard Nixon, Ford, and Carter have faced an impossible task in framing their economic policies: they have had to choose between the imperatives of cor-

porate capitalism, as interpreted by the Business Roundtable, Exxon, or the American Council for Capital Formation, and the public's pursuit of happiness—between policies of austerity and deregulation urged upon them by the corporate elite and their own wish to be reelected by popular majority. Nixon, who was also faced with the continuing war in Vietnam, tried to resolve this contradiction by criminal means. The gallant Ford bit the bullet. And now Carter looks as though he is destined for the same fate.

Suppose we review each aspect of the Carter-Ford economic failures:

• **Energy policy:** Ford tried unsuccessfully to deregulate energy prices; Congress would not go along. Carter promised Texas Democrats in 1976 that he would urge the deregulation of natural gas. But he broke his promise and made continued price regulation part of his initial energy program. Later, under fire from Congress and corporate lobbies, he backed down and substituted deregulation along with a windfall profits tax. For this, his labor and liberal supporters cried betrayal.

But did regulation present a viable alternative? For instance, in *The Zero-Sum Society*, liberal economist Lester C. Thurow argues quite persuasively that it was not: "Government regulations can control prices and to a lesser extent production, but in our system they cannot control new investments. No one can be forced to invest. Eventually new investments are necessary, and they will not be made unless they are as profitable as investments made in countries that do not control energy prices. This leads to increasingly severe shortages, as the necessary new facilities are not built to accommodate rising demands and new products. Eventually we are forced to decide whether we want free market pricing (with its large income losses and gains) or a nationalized energy industry where government makes the necessary new investments."

Of course, Thurow, like Carter, opts for deregulation rather than nationalization. This does not reflect any "sell-out" to the corporations, but the abiding assumptions of all the current liberal and conservative politicians, from Reagan through Kennedy. Given these assumptions, Carter had no choice but to let the prices go up.

• **Wage-price controls:** Carter, like Ford, refused to adopt wage-price controls, although his chief economic adviser during the 1976 campaign, Wharton economist Lawrence Klein, was and remains a staunch advocate of them. Like Ford, Carter relied on various "hypes" and intermittent jawboning.

His opponents on the left attack him for not instituting controls. But it is not clear that mandatory wage-price controls by themselves were the answer. If equitably enforced, they can discourage investment by holding down profit rates. Indeed, the Kennedy proposals included controls on profit and interest. They can also work even less efficiently than the already imperfect market in allocating resources.

As was the case with energy price regulation, there is little middle-ground between giving corporations *carte blanche* and controlling not only wages and prices, but also investments—something that again none of the major candidates are willing to contemplate.

• **Recession and the Federal Reserve:** Both Ford and Carter created recessions by permitting their Federal Reserve to use high interest rates and credit restrictions to discourage investment and spending. Their choice of a recession is often interpreted as a choice of unemployment rather than inflation. Left-wing Democrats are more willing to tolerate inflation, while right-wing Democrats and Republicans are more will-

ing to tolerate unemployment. But Carter's and Ford's willingness to risk recession had little to do with inflation *per se*. In both cases, inflation was an issue—it angers consumers and bewilders corporate planners—but the relation of inflation to the dollar was probably more important.

Since Nixon took the U.S. off the gold standard, the dollar's value has been allowed to float in relation to other currencies. From \$37 an ounce, gold has risen now to as high as \$900 an ounce. The decline in the dollar's value reflects the declining American position in the world economy. It threatens the value of the trillion dollars held in European banks and OPEC prices, which are pegged to the dollar.

By pricing American goods out of the world market, domestic inflation is translated into a decline in the dollar's value. And government policies that are understood as inflationary—large budget deficits or decreases in interest rates—precipitate runs on the dollar.

The way to improve a currency's value is by improving a country's balance of trade and payments. As in the case of energy and domestic prices, one is forced to choose between radical planning measures that would include strict regulation of multinational investments and market remedies. Carter chose the market remedy, which is a recession. A recession discourages imports and encourages exports.

Carter remains under intense pressure, even as unemployment nears 9 percent, not to introduce stimulative measures like a tax cut that might be inflationary. It is not certain that even Edward Kennedy, were he in the White House, would be able to withstand these pressures, which are not simply based on corporate greed, but on a perception of what is necessary for the longterm survival of corporate capitalism.

Of course, this is not an argument to vote for Carter any more than it is an argument on Gerald Ford's behalf. In implementing these largely unavoidable policies, Carter did tend to be inept or inequitable. He let Congress deregulate oil and gas prices before being guaranteed passage of a stiff windfall profits tax. He enforced his wage-price guidelines largely at the expense of union wages rather than corporation prices. And he acceded in the passage of pure-and-simple give-aways to the rich, like the 1979 tax "reform."

But while it is not an argument for Carter, it is an argument against his so-called left-wing opponents. Was the Kennedy challenge directed at the implementation of Carter's policies or at their basic framework? It seems to me that Kennedy's January disavowals to the contrary, he never established any differences with Carter that would not have melted under the heat of corporate priorities.

To do this, Kennedy would have had to break with the basic assumptions of presidential policy—the equation of America's survival with that of corporate capitalism. He was not willing to do this on energy, wage-price control (which was to be limited and temporary), or overall investment control. In short, the Kennedy challenge, for all its sound and fury, was not really a challenge at all.

EVERY OTHER WEEK?

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IN THESE TIMES

Tax cuts supply higher profits

By Robert Howard

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THERE IS A MOVEMENT to turn the Republicans into Populists," Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan recently announced, "a party of the People arrayed against a Democratic Party of the State."

On June 25, Ronald Reagan, sounding very much like an old-fashioned Democrat, called for an immediate \$36 billion tax cut for 1981 and Congressional Republicans have repeated his call at hearings of the House Ways and Means and Senate Finance committees during the latter half of July.

The Carter administration, on the other hand, ignoring worried Senate Democrats like Moynihan, has steadfastly refused to consider any tax cut before the November election on the traditional Republican grounds of fiscal responsibility and restraint.

But the tax cut debate, in spite of the efforts of the press to weight it with significance, represents less a new realignment of American politics than the same old identity of views between the two major parties on the fundamentals of economic policy. The vaunted economic populism of the Republicans is a political fraud. The proposals of both parties leave American tax policy where it has been for years—safely in the hands of a small coterie of corporate business lobbyists.

Supply-side economics.

There are many arguments for some kind of tax cut in 1981, some of them persuasive. With unemployment at 7.8 percent and expectations of 8.5 percent by the end of this year and throughout the next, some politicians have turned to tax reduction as the classic form of counter-cyclical economic stimulus. Federal revenues are expected to jump dramatically by nearly \$80 billion next year due to scheduled increases in Social Security taxes, increased revenues from the wind-fall profits tax and other energy taxes, and the effects of "bracket creep" as inflation pulls taxpayers into higher tax brackets. This rapid inflow of funds to the federal purse could put a "fiscal drag" on the economy and stall economic recovery. Strictly speaking, the 1981 tax cut debate is really about the size of next year's tax increase.

But the factor that has most sustained the movement for a tax cut is the growing influence of various "supply side" economic theories. Proposals such as the Kemp-Roth Bill for a 30 percent tax cut over three years or the Capital Cost Recovery Act (also known as the Jones-Conable Bill), which would radically change the depreciation schedule of capital goods, are not short term, counter-cyclical tax policies. They amount to a fundamental restructuring of the federal tax system. According to supply side theory, massive across-the-board tax reduction will be the motor of reindustrialization by liberating the private sector from the embrace of big government and encouraging savings, investment and productivity.

The Republican tax cut proposal is a product of this supply side rhetoric. The \$36 billion Republican package consists of Jones-Conable and an across-the-board 10 percent reduction in personal income taxes. The 10 percent individual tax cut has been touted as evidence of the Republicans' new popular economics.

Under the plan, however, the wealthiest 14 percent of the American population captures 40 percent of the \$31.8 billion in estimated tax monies; the wealthiest 1 percent receive 28 percent. An example: a family of four making \$20,000 a year would pocket a refund of \$10,000-\$12,000; the professional with a salary of \$50,000



would get \$1,000. But the worker making between \$10,000 and \$20,000 would receive only about \$185, and the low-income family of four making less than \$10,000 a year would be left with about \$30.

Corporate cuts.

But the 10 percent across-the-board individual tax cut is not really the heart of the Republican proposal. Although the business tax breaks of the Capital Cost Recovery Act amount to only about \$5 billion in 1981, by 1985 they will increase twelvefold to around \$60 billion. When you add these later years of the Jones-Conable Bill to the \$36 billion of the Republican proposal for 1981 alone, the corporations and the wealthiest 14 percent of Americans end up with a full 75 percent of the total proceeds.

First introduced in Congress last year, Jones-Conable has become the chief rallying cry of the supply side faithful. In the House 293 members have endorsed it. According to Thomas McHugh of the

this amount from its taxable income. The firm thus "recovers" the cost of its capital. Capital recovery allowances accounted for 88 percent of total business savings in 1979.

The 10-5-3 formula would allow firms to write off their investment far more rapidly than they can now—buildings and structures in ten years (now, the average period, based on the "useful life" concept, is 32.6 years), machinery and equipment in five, trucks, autos and taxis in three. According to its proponents, this plan is essential for the health of American industry because when inflation rates are high as they are now, slow depreciation makes it impossible for companies to recover the replacement cost of their capital goods.

Faster depreciation will not only protect American corporations from the ravages of inflation, its supporters say, but will also reinvigorate the entire economy. The 10-5-3 formula will improve business savings and provide firms with badly-needed capital for new investment.



National Association of Manufacturers, it has "unparalleled breadth and depth of support within the business community." Some business lobbyists even showed up at the Ways and Means Committee hearings sporting buttons with the slogan "10-5-3," referring to the bill's depreciation schedule.

The bill would simplify and radically accelerate depreciation schedules of capital goods. Depreciation is treated as an expense. Each year a company deducts some part of the initial cost of its machines, buildings or vehicles and deducts

This, in turn, will improve productivity, stimulate economic growth, and, in the long term, even help fight inflation.

These arguments come straight from the bible of supply side economics. The problem is, they are a god that has already failed. Such theories have been the guiding principle of American tax policy for at least the last decade. They still have not produced the results their champions promise.

In 1971, the Nixon administration engineered the enactment of an accelerated depreciation system, a 7 percent invest-

ment tax credit, and an export tax subsidy. Nixon's Secretary of the Treasury, John Connally, justified the changes, much as business lobbyists do today, on the grounds that they would "provide jobs and incomes for workers and...foster the greater productivity that promotes price stability and rising living standards for all Americans." In 1975, depreciation deductions were further liberalized and the investment credit was increased to 10 percent. In 1978, the top corporate tax rate was cut, lower rates were graduated, and the investment credit was expanded and made permanent.

"Old-fashioned believers in learning by trial and error might think that the failure of business tax breaks to solve our economic problems in the 1970s argues for a different approach in the 1980s," said Robert McIntyre of Public Citizens' Tax Reform Research Group before the Ways and Means Committee. "But the 'new wave' economists and the corporate lobbyists advocate a bolder plan: Start the next decade exactly as the last, with further increases in depreciation write-offs."

A close look at 10-5-3 reveals it for the disaster it is. First, there is no solid indication that accelerated depreciation spurs investment and little evidence that lower business taxes in general get translated into economic growth. Italy, for example, hardly a stellar economic performer, has notoriously weak corporate taxes, whereas West Germany and Japan tax their corporations heavily.

Second, whatever the causes of American productivity problems, insufficient investment has little to do with it. According to economist Lester Thurow, capital investment (as a percentage of GNP) has increased during the past 30 years, precisely when productivity growth began to decline. Commerce Department economist Edward Denison estimates that only 0.1 percent of the drop in productivity growth after 1973 has been due to a decrease in capital investment.

Third, across-the-board reductions in depreciation schedules—especially the radical change for structures—favor large, capital-intensive industries at the expense of small, labor-intensive ones. Big winners under 10-5-3 include gas and oil companies, utilities and the steel industry. Losers include the construction and automobile industries, computer and other high-technology firms, and small business in general. The faster depreciation of capital costs in buildings may also make the already widespread use of real estate as a tax shelter even worse, and even contribute to the movement of industry to the Sunbelt.

Finally, radical decreases in business taxes (as much as 50 percent by 1985) could prove to be highly inflationary by increasing pressure on the federal deficit. The new populists shrug this off by asserting that the tax revenues produced by new economic activity and higher productivity will more than offset the losses incurred by tax reduction. But even conservative economist Martin Feldstein admits that "the widespread view that supply side policies can eliminate inflation by increasing productivity is just wishful thinking." Most hard-core supporters of 10-5-3 (Feldstein among them) link sharp reductions in business taxes to equally sharp decreases in federal spending—decreases that, given the new populists' penchant for defense spending, can only come out of already emaciated social programs. In short, behind the mask of Republican populism is the same old face of economic austerity.

Democrats' non-alternative.

Compared to this, the Democratic approach to the tax issue may sound like the voice of sweet reason. The Treasury Department has drafted a far more modest \$25 billion tax cut that the White House may unveil either after the elec-

Continued on page 22.



John Zeinski

IN SHORT

Through proper channels

If you don't have a TV set, you might consider bugging the living room of a neighbor who does. You won't want to miss *The CIA*, a new show that CBS plans to uncover in 1981.

Following in the footsteps of ABC's long-running but now defunct series *The FBI*, *The CIA* will present its heroes as staunch members of "a wonderful outfit fighting that never-ending battle for truth, justice and the American way," according to Gary Deeb of the *Chicago Sun-Times*.

"Ideally, we'd like to show that the people in the CIA are American citizens with families and a job to do," said Larry Thompson, executive producer of the proposed program. He explained that the series would get "technical assistance and advice" from the Association of Former Intelligence Officers, a group with a large contingent of ex-CIA agents.

"America's moving to the right," noted an astute CBS exec. "No matter who's president, the people want the United States to protect its interests abroad. The time is right for this show."

If only J. Edgar Hoover were alive to watch the new series; maybe, somewhere down there, he's tuning in.

Cops and robbers

An internal report of the New York City Police Department, obtained recently by *The New York Times*, reveals commanders' fears that the economic crunch could lead cops into a life of corruption.

From the report, which drew from an annual survey of supervisors in charge of the city's 73 precincts and 200 other investigative and support units: "Numerous unit commanders stated the opinion that their personnel, despite second jobs and working spouses, are under considerable financial stress. This gives rise to an ominous atmosphere conducive to demoralization and the rationalization of marginally corrupt activities. They also see an even greater danger in the possibility that this attitude might spread upward through the ranks."

The survey found that commanders were concerned about such abuses by officers as the theft of property, the use or sale of drugs, and the sale or disclosure of confidential information obtained from department computers.

Do you know where your coppers are?

Unsafe at any age

On July 31, as the official period of renewed draft registration drew to a close, a federal judge in Chicago rejected the argument that the sign-up illegally discriminates against 19- and 20-year-olds, and refused to halt it.

Nicholas Kitsos, the lawyer who filed the suit on behalf of an unnamed 19-year-old man, charged that, as the Military Selective Service Act allows for the registration of all males between the ages of 18 and 26, the present program unfairly singles out a fraction of those who are eligible.

According to the *Chicago Sun-Times*, Kitsos has vowed to carry on the fight to the U.S. Court of Appeals, and, if necessary, to the Supreme Court—which in the fall will be dealing with a challenge to the Selective Service Act itself, on sexual-discrimination grounds (see *In These Times*, July 16 and July 30).

Nuclear families

On Aug. 4, Illinois prosecutors charged Commonwealth Edison Company and two of its employees with falsifying records to cover up "serious security violations" at the Quad Cities nuclear power station in the southwest corner of the state, according to UPI.

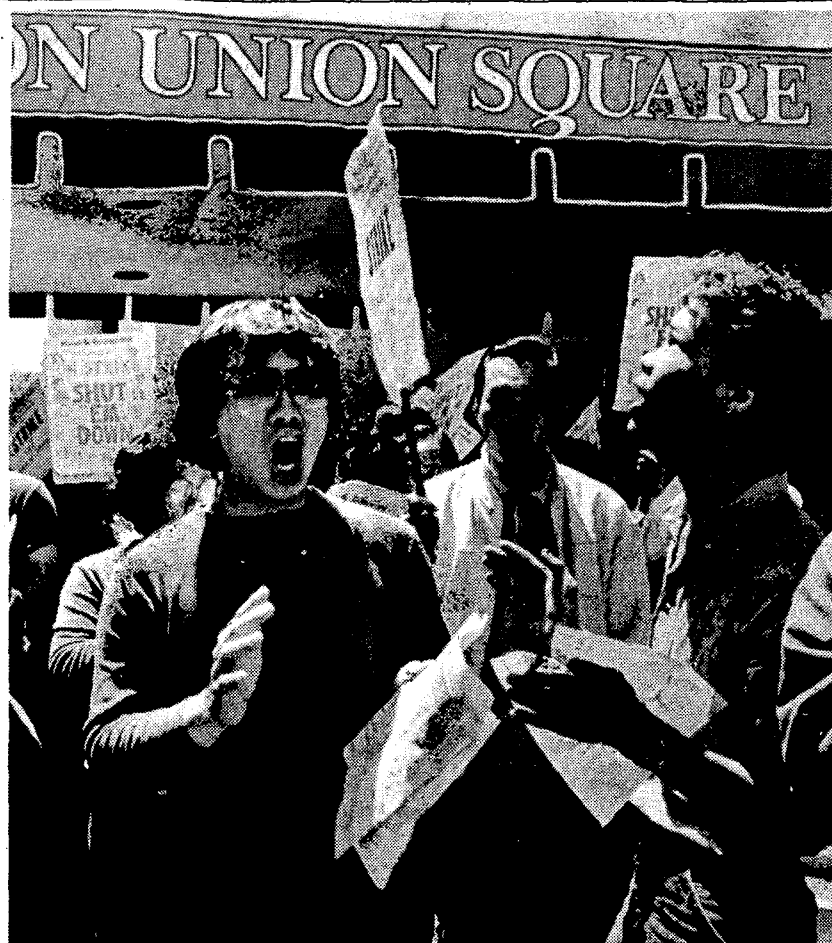
Federal grand juries have already found evidence that Commonwealth Edison ordered guards not to report such violations as unlocked and unguarded doors and unescorted visitors allowed to roam free through "vital areas" of the plant.

While those people were being indicted for fraud and conspiracy, on the opposite side of Illinois a juvenile court judge in Chicago was refusing to restore custody of a 12-year-old Ukrainian boy to his parents, who are planning to go back to the Soviet Union.

Walter Polovchak and his 17-year-old sister, Natalie, ran away from home for a variety of reasons, including parental insensitivity. But the press has focused on Walter's enchantment with bicycles, ice cream and other commonplace American items.

Ice cream! In the Ukraine—at least as of a few years ago—ice cream sold by street vendors is so creamy it makes Haagen Dazs taste like Hamburger Helper. Of course, there's usually only one flavor...

—Josh Kornbluth



"Do Not Disturb" signs failed to keep the pickets away.

SAN FRANCISCO—The hotel workers strike here is not an ordinary labor action. The Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union has not struck America's favorite tourist city in 40 years. But since July 17, the minorities and women who make up over 70 percent of Local 2's membership have been marching, chanting and banging silverware, pie tins, trays and other noise-makers in front of San Francisco's posh landmark hotels—the Hyatt Regency, the St. Francis, the Fairmont and Mark Hopkins. How the pickets got there is the story of the union's powerful rank-and-file movement, which both hotel owners and the union's International officials seem eager to crush.

The rank-and-file movement grew up around two key issues—the delay of union elections and the iron-fisted rule of local president Joe Bellardi. When the union finally held presidential elections in 1978, the rank and file were ready. David McDonald, supported by the Alliance of Rank and File (ARF), upset Bellardi for the presidency. But the Bellardi gang retained a majority of the business agents and executive board. Bellardi loyalists repeatedly disrupted union meetings. Instead of turning to his supporters, McDonald turned to the more conservative International for assistance.

Citing local chaos and dissension, the International imposed a trusteeship on Local 2. They claimed to be assisting the rank and file, but they fired the elected vice president and then fired McDonald when he sued the International. In what could prove a landmark case, lawyers for rank and file won a ruling overthrowing the trusteeship. The judge ruled that by re-hiring Bellardi business agents, dispatchers and organizers, the International had sought to negate the election. But instead of restoring McDonald to office, the judge ordered new elections—in which rank and filers split into two rival slates, allowing the old-line ticket headed by president-elect Charles Lamb to win.

According to union members, Lamb proved to be as bad as Bellardi. "Not only did he give away owner-paid sick leave," complained one rank and filer, "but he reneged on election of business agents and had his goons intimidate people at union meetings. When he saw he'd lose a vote, he'd signal for adjournment."

But Lamb could not back a rank-and-file takeover of the union's negotiating committee. Rank and file slates won almost every seat they ran for, compiling an overwhelming majority of 20 seats on the committee. Negotiators proceeded to draw up a list of demands:

- improvement of working conditions and safety
 - comprehensive affirmative action and training for all levels of workers
 - a 58 percent pay raise over the paltry union average of \$4.74 per hour.
 - an increase in holidays, including Gay Pride Day. Before the last arbitration, Local 2 had only three paid holidays during the entire year.
- The negotiating team unanimously backed a strike. President Lamb opposed it and did nothing to prepare the union for the action that members voted for by 2,845 to 197.

The confrontation of noisy third-world workers and well-off hotel patrons has sparked much anger and some police violence. One Burns guard attacked four women picketers, inflicting a variety of injuries. Forty-odd other demonstrators have been arrested.

The strike thus far has cost hotel owners more than \$2 million. Hotels claim to be operating at or near capacity. Hotels apparently are being staffed with management and scabs flown in from as far away as Miami. But the scabs are reported to be stealing much of the hotels' supplies.

Meanwhile, the rank and file are again being threatened by their International, which has flown its own team into town. Despite the local negotiating committee's opposition, the International's negotiators

are seeking to commit the union to mediation-arbitration.

One dissident admits, "We can't beat them now," but he believes the rank and file will keep growing. "People see how the International uses trusteeships to fight democratic unionism," he says, "not just here, but also in Minneapolis, Las Vegas and Alaska. But in San Francisco we have a real chance to win. We won before and we'll win again!"

—Mike Berkowitz

Church & state vs. gay rights

BALTIMORE—A combination of ignorance and church opposition led the Baltimore City Council to kill a gay rights bill by a two-to-one margin July 21. Originally sponsored by a majority of council members, the bill spurred unheard-of controversy in this provincial Maryland port city.

Designed to include "sexual orientation" among other characteristics in the city's civil rights law, the bill was seen by opponents as an official endorsement of homosexual practices.

Gay activists, combining for the first time to form potent political groups, lobbied relentlessly on the bill and kept the hearings packed with supporters.

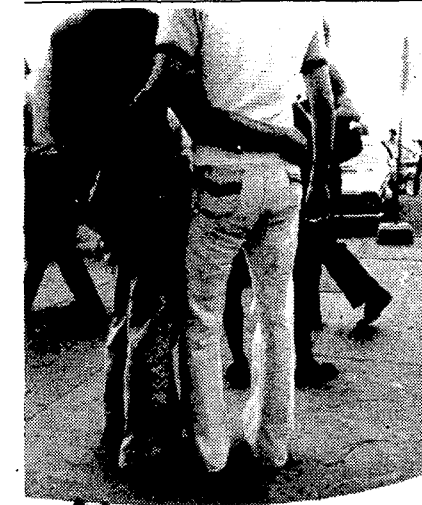
Despite opposition by the PTA and the raving testimony of Christian fundamentalists who quoted the Bible to demonstrate the immorality of homosexual behavior, the bill seemed close to passage before it came up for the final vote.

In the last week, however, the region's Roman Catholic archbishop sent a letter to key council members opposing the gay rights bill on grounds that "it would be improper to legislate" on matters of sexual practice.

Although a furor broke out with this high-level intrusion of church in the affairs of state, several council members who had supported the bill changed their tune. "There's no way it's going to pass," said one prominent former sponsor. "Mr. and Mrs. America seem to be against the bill," said another. "I'll support it if you get the approval of the archbishop," a third deserter claimed.

Of the council's six black members—60 percent of a majority—four supported the bill when it came to the floor. Of those, two explained their vote as support for a civil rights issue.

Gay activists, angered by the quick loss of allies but encouraged by the liveliness of the debate and the publicity their struggle received, plan to introduce similar legislation as soon as they have lined up enough supporters. —Cliff Welch



Outside Baltimore City Hall before hearing on bill.

IN THE NATION

By Pat Aufderheide

THERE'S MORE AT STAKE IN the current strike by the Screen Actors Guild and the American Federation of TV and Radio Artists than whether or not you'll be watching reruns during the fall TV season.

The strike marks the coming of age of new distribution systems for film and video. A precedent-setting conflict, the strike will decide how creative talent in film and video get paid for work shown, re-shown and shown again, on pay TV, videocassettes, discs and overseas.

SAG and AFTRA demand that producers give actors 6 percent of their gross receipts. (That money would go to the union, which would parcel it out to actors according to their contracts. Actors' salaries would be counted against their share of the gross.) Producers—the major film studios, TV networks and major independent TV producers, MGM and Disney, all represented through an *ad hoc* committee—have offered instead 3.6 percent of the gross—only beginning two years after the product is released, or after 360 hours (15 24-hour days) of broadcast play. This means producers would normally have to pay only negligible amounts, if anything. In effect, the offer was a rejection.

The producers are not even talking about when they might begin to bargain. Perhaps, they hint, they might consider it after their negotiating team finishes contract negotiations with the American Federation of Musicians—which should happen momentarily. Or perhaps...if only the SAG/AFTRA spokesmen would come up with a compromise on the key issue of a percentage of the gross for home video sales. (SAG has already come down from 12 percent.)

Meanwhile, Lew Wasserman at Universal Studios, the industry leader in TV production, has shut down the studio. Twentieth Century Fox has laid off everyone associated with fall TV season production. Independent producers are affected: Norman Lear's Tandem Productions' new production has ground to a halt. (Two dozen productions have SAG waivers, granted because they agree to SAG's negotiating terms; Playboy Productions' TV film, Jane Fonda's current film, *On Golden Pond*, and the new Zoetrope production, *Escape Artist*, for instance, continue in production.) Not even anguished murmurs from ad agencies faced with plummeting demographics for the fall season on TV are budging producers.

Stubborn.

You can see familiar faces—Walter Matthau, Jack Klugman, Kathleen Nolan, Carroll O'Connor, Ed Asner, Loretta Swit, and others—on the picket line roving from studio to studio, or on the talk shows. "I have never seen a strike so unified," said SAG's Kim Felner. On the other side of the fence, it would be hard to find a management more intransigent. Or, as a Writers Guild spokesman termed it, "obstructionist."

At stake is a principle. How will creative talent be paid for work distributed through new systems like pay TV, video discs and cassettes? Huge amounts of money are involved. Pay TV, carried mostly through cable—franchising for which is termed a "gold rush" in trade magazines—is the major way we can all expect to see sports and movies within a few years. Cable is presently installed in 20 percent of American homes, and people in the business expect it to become a necessity once 30 percent of all homes carry it. Right now five million homes carry pay TV, many of them more than one company's programming. And a million videotape recorders are presently installed in people's homes, with more than 100,000 new ones sold each month.

"Ancillary markets" are about to become major markets. Further, there is



Charles Durning, James Farentino and Michele Lee picket film studios.

STRIKE

Hollywood actors demand cut of home box office take

considerable overlap in programming; the number of times a single product can be repackaged and resold on a different system is multiplying. And these new markets are not covered by current actors' contracts.

Creative talent in all aspects of film and video are feeling the consequences. "One of the principal reasons for lack of

books is too well known. Just recently, for instance, *Alien*, Fox's most successful film last year to the tune of \$50 million, was reported to the producers, writers and director as having incurred a loss. They can expect no returns on it without an external audit.

Given the combination of corruption and the vast potential for resale, "the only way actors can be guaranteed a share in the profits is to demand a cut of the gross," said Felner.

"We are looking realistically at the needs of the producer," said AFTRA national representative Stephen Chipps. "There is a method of recoupment—salaries are counted against the gross."

If there were any doubt of the importance of this precedent, both sides could look to history. In 1960, when Ronald Reagan was president of SAG, the union struck over the issue of residuals payments for actors when their films were shown on TV. The deal that was finally struck offered actors a low percentage, only after a period of time, and it cut out old movies—from before 1960—from payments altogether. Many actors thought they got burned.

Then, producers told actors that TV would never be a big market for movies, and that they couldn't risk cutting actors into a new arrangement. This time, industry negotiating spokesman Phil Meyers, an exec at Twentieth Century Fox, told *In These Times*, "Pay TV is a business that's just starting. To give a percentage of the gross from first dollars, when you don't even know if this industry is going to be profitable, wouldn't be good business. But the producers are willing—after this business gets going—to review the whole situation about grosses."

But actors have only to look at 20 years of negotiations since the 1960 strike—20 years in which they have been unable to change the low-percentage deal

despite skyrocketing profits from old movies on TV—to know the power of precedent. Producers know it too—they borrowed their 3.6 percent opening offer from the percentage they presently pay on TV residuals.

Solid front.

There's another reason why the producers are making their stand here. The precedent doesn't just go for actors. It applies to all creative talent. The Writers Guild and Directors Guild contracts come up for negotiations next year. Both unions have come out strongly in favor of this strike. Further, they have both proposed settlements that look a lot like what the actors demand. The writers call for 6 percent of the gross, while directors want 5 percent.

Writers Guild negotiator Leonard Chasman said, "The pattern set in any deal with SAG will have a great effect on our negotiation." Directors Guild negotiator Michael Franklin agrees. He also pointed out that the DGA has been fighting this issue through the courts—DGA members cannot presently work for Home Box Office—and eagerly welcomes a contract decision that takes a stand on home video.

Only some locals of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees—whose picket-line-crossing tactics have enraged other unions in the past—have sided with the strikers. But other unions, including the clerical workers' union in Los Angeles, the OPEIU, have endorsed the strike.

"We are concerned that the secretaries are sent home and that cameramen are out of work," said Felner. "It's our hope that they will focus their energies on the producers—the enemies we all have to deal with."

In the meantime, everyone is settling in for a long strike.

Screenwriters and directors are right behind the actors, with similar contract proposals.

security in the entertainment industry," said Michael Franklin, a negotiator for the Directors Guild (DGA), "is technological unemployment. Programming produced in earlier decades is sold and resold today in all kinds of packages and in various media but yield not one dime to most of the creators of the product. New techniques could only make it worse."

The way actors see it, the issue is simple: producers' greed. Pay TV is a money machine, and the producers don't want to cut the talent in on the profits. The producers maintain that pay TV is a risky business and that they need to cover their costs before they can afford to share the wealth.

Actors, however, don't want to let producers "cover their costs"—that is, give actors a percentage of the net. The practice of keeping double and triple



Russell Means, American Indian Movement leader.

"When the cowboys and the Indians get together, America is going to have to respond," said Russell Means.

By William K. Tabb

RAPID CITY, S.D.

"WHEN WE TRAVELED to New York, Boston and San Francisco to enlist the aid of our friends, we knew it was the same distance in both directions," said John Trudell, a native American leader, to the 1980 International Black Hills Survival Gathering, which met here July 18-27. "We welcome our friends to the *Paha Sapa*, the sacred hills of the Lakota Nation."

Spread over the plains were the wigwams of many Indian people, the tents of Greenpeace and anti-power-line activists, the displays of solar ovens and other alternative technologies in a gathering that brought together movement people from around the world to challenge corporate attempts to plunder the resources of the Black Hills.

For ten days, local ranchers and farmers sat through plenary sessions and took part in workshops with activists from Alaska and Texas, Japan and Holland. The unity of the gathering and the coherence of analysis was matched by an acceptance of a diversity that allowed

Sierra Club representatives and Marxist-Leninists to hammer out an understanding of capitalism's destructive power and a counter vision of saving the earth and its peoples.

The Black Hills Alliance was founded in 1979 as ecological disaster and health hazards brought farmers and ranchers, environmentalists and anti-nuke activists together to work for self-preservation. There were struggles against Bechtel's proposed 1,400-mile-long slurry pipe line, which would take a large part of an already inadequate water supply needed by farmers, ranchers and native populations; efforts by the miners for Safe Energy to prevent uranium mining; Farmers Against Radioactive Mining (FARM). The coalition was built on each other's projects, offering mutual support, overcoming divisions between city folks and farmers, whites and native Americans.

The U.S. government and the energy corporations have decided that the Black Hills are to be "A National Sacrifice Area" and have slated it for "terminal development." Consuming the water of the region (depleting the aquifer that lies beneath the Hills and supplies water to much of the West) would make the area uninhabitable. The existing plans are for coal gasification plants, high voltage powerlines and nuclear reactors, tens, perhaps hundreds of billions in investments that would have a potential life of perhaps 35 years, after which the area would be dead—the earth scarred, the air polluted, a wasteland. Already people have become ill and cattle contaminated as a result of the uranium ventures of Union Carbide, Kerr-McGee and the other firms now invading the region.

Standing tall in his cowboy hat, jeans and boots, Marv Kammerer welcomed the participants to the ranch his family had lived on for three generations. His firm voice, his weatherworn face and his commanding presence were the tangible counterpoint of his political message: "Land is not a commodity," he told the gathering, "nor should it be treated as such. It should be treated as a resource—a source of real strength. My grandfather, my father and I believed that land is a basis of culture. Therefore, my family thinks that it is important that this land—our ranchland and the Black Hills—be protected. We are going to protect this area. We're going to survive here one way or another."

Three major events took place during the ten-day gathering: A Citizens' Review Commission on the Energy Developing Corporations heard testimony by experts concerning the major invaders, what their plans were, who owned them, what they were doing elsewhere and where they were vulnerable. A forum on Indian Genocide and the Planned Extinction of the Family Ranch and Farm presented factual analysis of the politics, the economics and the impact on the peoples of the region of the landgrabs underway and the struggles to resist them. An Appropriate Technology Land Self-Sufficiency Project presented ecologically conscious alternative survival techniques.

The Citizens' Review Commission over a six-day period heard dozens of ex-

1980 BLACK HILLS SURVIVAL GATHERING

Photographs by
Lionel Delevingne



perts testify on the specific plans of corporations and their governmental allies (see box).

The Black Hills are both the spiritual and physical center of the Lakota Nation and the target for energy exploitation—an area designated for “national sacrifice” to the energy development needs of the U.S. corporation.

Preserving the Hills from uranium mining highlights the atomic fuel cycle and the death and destruction it brings at each stage.

A study of Navajo uranium miners in the Southwest found that 28 of 100 were dead of cancer and 70 more were expected to die from that disease. Uranium mill wastes remain 85 percent as radioactive as the original ore and will release radon gas into the water and air for 800,000 years. These wastes are not being safely stored. For one thing, no one knows how to do so. For another, the corporations have denied they are harmful. So too at the other end of the nuclear fuel chain, plutonium, the deadliest material known to man, has proven difficult to contain. (It takes one-millionth of a gram to produce cancer 10 to 30 years after the particles are inhaled.)

Women of All Red Nations (WARN) has conducted studies of the level of radiation in well and surface water on the Pine Ridge Reservation, contaminated by the tons of uranium tailings washed into the Cheyenne River and reaching into the river with every rain and dust storm. WARN, a group of Indian women started in 1978 to preserve the Indian family, also surveyed native American women in the area, alarmed at the high rate of spontaneous abortions, birth defects and cancer deaths. They found between Nov. 15 and Dec. 15, 1979, 14 women (38 percent of the pregnancies reported at the Pine Ridge Hospital) miscarried.

Cancer is now the third highest killer on Pine Ridge, a “white man’s disease,” unknown among the Lakotas three generations ago. WARN asks: “Is this the same old pox-infested blanket trick of a hundred years ago?”

The Alliance, reaching out to area farmers and ranchers, stressed the parallel between the destruction of family farms and genocide against Indians.

A message from the Lakota American Indian Movement explained common grounds: “We need to sit down with large numbers of people from all cross-sections of South Dakota. Non-Indian land-based people must understand why the Lakota people are concerned about restoring Treaty Rights. Our goal is not to negotiate and re-negotiate the Treaty, nor is it to kick out white people in western South Dakota. It is to use this legal document to restore community control—not corporate control. We must protect the land, and honoring the Treaty will help us to do this.”

For some urban activists the workshops and displays of methane digestors, solar grain dryers and ropemaking hardly seemed central components of the anti-capitalist struggle. But to farmers and ranchers fearing corporate agribusiness’ spreading grip and the failure of governmental policies to protect the family farm, tree cropping, farming without pesticides and other forms of viable alternative technologies seem increasingly realistic. The two poles of the survival struggle were connected through the gathering—preservation of the earth and fighting corporate exploitation alternatives to ecological disaster and political struggle for economic liberation from corporate dominance were not seen as contradictory or competitive.

People had been asked to bring their own water and food. Many did. On hot days gathering organizers had to bring in \$1,000 worth of water in six huge tanker trucks. Food could be purchased at concession facilities. Survival in 100-degree heat with no air-conditioning, no hot shower to wash the dust and dirt that blew over the site, brought home to participants something of what survival meant. Yet at the same time, as the days passed, the beauty of the land made its indelible mark on the participant’s con-

sciousness, with 36 degrees of sky that was total in its presence, a plain that stretched seemingly forever to a distant horizon in three directions, and to the Black Hills, clearly visible some 40 miles away.

Across a wire fence to the east lay another reality; Ellsworth Air Force Base with its 150 intercontinental ballistic missiles, its 30 B-52H strategic bombers, its 15 fighter planes. The planes taking off and landing drowned out speakers and caused some hearing damage to participants.

Each evening, following a long day of working sessions, concerts featuring Jesse Colin Young, Chris Williamson, Jackson Browne, the Thunder Bird Sisters, Floyd Westerman, Bonnie Raitt and Larry Gatlin helped knit the group together.

On the final days of the gathering, 1,500 participants broke up first into nine regional groups for North America and one for the rest of the world, and then into smaller circles to discuss a Declaration of Continuing Dependence on the Land and to identify the needs of

South Dakota farmer Marvin Kammerer and his family at home (above). A draft information workshop at the Survival Gathering near Rapid City, S.D. (below).

each, the organizational strengths and weaknesses of the local movements, and to set long- and short-term goals.

The focus was on land-based struggles. “If you lose the land, we lose too,” said one New Yorker, to a thunderous ovation. Community control over local resources, especially democratic, decentralized food and energy production, were stressed. The control of the multinationals was targeted.

In the final session, his arm around

rancher Marv Kammerer, American Indian Movement activist Russell Means declared, “When the cowboys and Indians are getting together, America is going to have to respond to the demands of land-based peoples.” When the ceremonies were concluded, participants considered the job they now had to do. The unity and spirit of the Survival Gathering had been impressive, but as BHA activist Evelyn Lifsey said, “The gathering is over, the work is just beginning.” ■



The Indians beat Custer, but his legacy is threatening the Black Hills' chances of survival.

IN 1874 GENERAL GEORGE CUSTER ANNOUNCED the presence of gold in the Black Hills and sparked off a gold rush. In violation of the Fort Laramie Treaty, signed only six years previously, assigning the Black Hills and large areas of surrounding land to the Lakota Indian Nation in perpetuity, the federal government seized the Black Hills and encouraged prospectors and settlers to move in.

In these same hills a century later, a uranium rush is underway. Still violating the Fort Laramie Treaty, a new generation of prospectors has arrived—the giant corporations. Part of the

work of the Survival Gathering was to examine the activities of these latter-day prospectors.

Uranium was discovered in the Hills in 1951, but the current boom started in the '70s when the price of uranium shot up and insured the profitability of large-scale production for nuclear weapons and power plants. The federal government's National Uranium Resource Evaluation Program has financed much of the exploration, and local and state governments have complied with the corporations' needs.

• Union Carbide has received funds from the Department of Energy to explore for uranium on the Pine Ridge Reservation; nearby, in the Custer National Forest, UC began uranium exploration illegally, without state approval. UC's nuclear operations elsewhere include the government's uranium enrichment and weapons-testing facilities at Paducah, Ky., and Oak Ridge, Tenn. (where South African technicians have been trained). UC was a prominent violator of United Nations sanctions against the Smith regime in Zimbabwe.

• The Tennessee Valley Authority, the nation's largest utility, holds over 120,000 acres of uranium leases in South Dakota, hoping to provide fuel

for its plants' 17 reactors.

• Oil interests are well-represented among the uranium prospectors of South Dakota. Among them are Exxon, Chevron, Gulf Oil, Phillips Uranium (a subsidiary of Phillips Petroleum) and Minerals Exploration (a subsidiary of Union Oil Co.). Anaconda Copper Co., which is exploring for uranium in seven South Dakota counties, is wholly owned by Arco Oil Co.

• Fresh from Arco is the new chairman of Burlington Northern Railroad. This huge corporation, the nation's largest coal and grain hauler, has become—through government land grants to railroads and through wheel-dealing—the largest coal-owning corporation in the country.

• Kerr-McGee, which controls one-third of the country's uranium reserves, is exploring for more in the Black Hills. Kerr-McGee is notorious for neglecting safety standards in its radioactive operations.

• Yet another prospector is Rio Algon, a subsidiary of Rio Tinto Zinc, which owns 46.5 percent of the huge Rossing uranium mine in Namibia, illegally controlled by South Africa. The former chairman of RTZ is British foreign secretary Lord Carrington, and a major stockholder is the Queen of England.

—Laurie Kirby

THE LEFT

Socialists vote to pursue a merger

By James Weinstein

MILWAUKEE

FOR THE AMERICAN LEFT, 1980 has, so far, not been a banner year. The increasing inability of long-term liberal programs to provide anything approaching full employment or to control rampant inflation has opened the floodgates of attack on the social gains of recent decades and on government regulation of corporate destruction of the environment and the health and safety of their employees.

With both the major parties more and more openly subservient to corporate interests and to the demands of well-organized conservative groupings, the socialist left finds itself in disarray and facing two choices—to tighten its belts, withdraw further into itself and continue pursuing failed policies, or to face up to the much more difficult task of re-examining long-held assumptions and making painful changes.

It is to the great credit of the New American Movement (NAM) that at its ninth annual convention, in Milwaukee July 30-Aug. 2, it chose to subordinate its own narrow organizational interests to the process of creating a viable socialist left in the United States. It did so by voting, by two to one, to pursue merger negotiations with the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

NAM was formed in late 1971 by New Left veterans who believed that it was possible to build a movement in the U.S. that was socialist and practical. Committed to a pluralist democracy, both within NAM and in society, the organization was made up of a dozen or more local chapters and a national office without full-time political leaders. Administrative and political decisions were made by a National Interim Committee (NIC) of 15 members, which met every six weeks in the early years. In recent years the national office was strengthened with the formation of a three-person leadership body called the political committee, and the NIC was reduced in size and then



New American Movement leader Roberta Lynch (above) argued for merger negotiations. Delegates vote on the merger (left).



eliminated in favor of semi-annual meetings of a larger body of chapter representatives. Starting with some 300-400 members in 1971, NAM has grown to about 900 members (about 650 were represented at the convention) in more than 30 chapters.

NAM's strength has been in its local chapters, some of which have had genuine public presence. These chapters are

mostly in smaller cities, like Santa Cruz, Calif., where two NAM members are now on the city council, but also in Pittsburgh. As a national organization it has played no role in the political scene.

For the past two years there has been a growing feeling among NAM members that the organization's prospects are limited, that the principles of democratic socialism and support of feminism are shared in large part with DSOC and that DSOC's national political presence and program complement NAM's weakness nationally, while NAM's local chapter strength complements DSOC's weakness in local activities.

Over the past year, NAM and DSOC negotiating committees have met to discuss the possibilities and terms of merger, with the result that NAM's national leadership and the members of the negotiating committee, including some originally opposed to the merger, had become strong advocates of uniting the two groups. Within NAM opposition has come from a group calling itself the Aug. 7 coalition (A7). A7 supporters ar-

gue that DSOC's commitment to working within the Democratic Party and its membership in the Second Socialist International mark it as a reformist organization that true revolutionaries should shun. At last year's convention A7 received about one-third of the vote on a negotiation resolution that passed. This year, they also got a third of the vote, which was 404-208 with two abstentions.

Speaking in favor of the merger resolution, NAM's most effective leader, Roberta Lynch, argued that the right was rapidly growing in strength, as a grass roots conservative movement on social issues, as advocates of a new militarism, epitomized in the Committee on the Present Danger, and as corporate opponents of regulation on health and environmental issues. She characterized the A7 argument that NAM's failure to grow is not NAM's fault but the fault of the times as simply leaving NAM "out of joint with the times," and therefore in a position where history will pass it by.

Instead, Lynch argued, NAM must face up to the failure of its current approach and look for new directions. She endorsed negotiations, but denied she was pushing merger. Most of her remarks were aimed at refuting A7 arguments, which she characterized as at best a pale reflection of the profound changes occurring in the world socialist movement.

Manning Marable, who recently joined NAM, also argued in favor of negotiations. He pointed out that one could rail against participation in Democratic Party politics, but that some 90 percent of politically active blacks have found the Democratic Party to be the vehicle of political advancement for blacks, and that the Black Congressional Caucus, made up entirely of Democrats, was the only consistent left voice in national politics. To disdain an organization like DSOC because it worked primarily within the Democratic Party, Marable argued, would simply guarantee isolation from the most political blacks.

James Weinstein is the Editor of *In These Times* and was a member of the National Interim Committee of the New American Movement in 1972-73.

ASSASSINATION

Letelier & Moffitt families sue Chile

By Peter Kornbluh

WASHINGTON

ARULING ON THE GUILT OF the Pinochet regime for the September 1976 assassination of Orlando Letelier and Ronni K. Moffitt is expected soon from a U.S. District Court judge. The verdict will be the culmination of a civil damage suit filed against the Chilean military government by the families of Letelier and Moffitt. The suit, heard June 20 by Judge Joyce Hens Green, is believed to be the first ever brought against a foreign government for wrongful death under the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976. If the judge rules in favor of the families, it will be the first legal pronouncement of the responsibility of the Pinochet regime for the act of international terrorism that killed the former Chilean diplomat Orlando Letelier, and his 25-year-old associate at the Institute for Policy Studies, Ronni K. Moffitt.

The civil suit was filed last October after the Chilean supreme court denied the U.S. request to extradite Contreras and the two other DINA agents who have been indicted here for their role in the

crime. The Chilean court rejected more than 750 pages of evidence presented by U.S. Department of Justice officials and refused to try the three in Chile. (The Carter administration, which had previously threatened harsh reprisals if the DINA agents were not extradited, responded with only superficial sanctions.)

Chilean military officials have argued through diplomatic notes to the U.S. Department of State that Chile is immune from prosecution in civil court because, according to their interpretation, the Sovereign Immunities Act "does not cover political assassinations." In her ruling on jurisdiction issued last March, however, Judge Green clearly stated that a foreign country "has no 'discretion' to perpetuate conduct designed to result in assassination...action that is clearly contrary to the precepts of humanity as recognized in both national and international law." Chile now faces a ruling by default for failing to be represented in the legal proceedings.

By seeking to establish the direct complicity of the military regime in the assassination, the civil suit goes a step beyond last year's highly publicized criminal trial in which Michael Vernon Townley, an American expatriate working for the Chilean secret police (DINA), and

three anti-Castro Cuban terrorists were convicted of the crime. While demanding the extradition of three other DINA agents indicted in the case, including the former director of DINA, Manuel Contreras, State and Justice Department officials stopped far short of accusing the Pinochet government of instigating the murders.

According to the lawyers representing Isabel Letelier and Michael Moffitt, the civil suit is intended to prove that the military government "organized, planned, and provided implements for" the assassination. Lawyers for the families have filed a request for a minimum of \$2.5 million for damages in the case.

Testimony implicates Pinochet.

Six witnesses, including Isabel Letelier and Michael Moffitt, were called to testify during the one-day hearing. Letelier, who now directs the Letelier-Moffitt Memorial Project for Human Rights, testified how, on the day her husband was expelled from Chile after a year in a concentration camp, a Chilean airforce officer warned him that "General Pinochet will not and does not tolerate activities against his government. Once you are outside, remember, the arm of DINA is long."

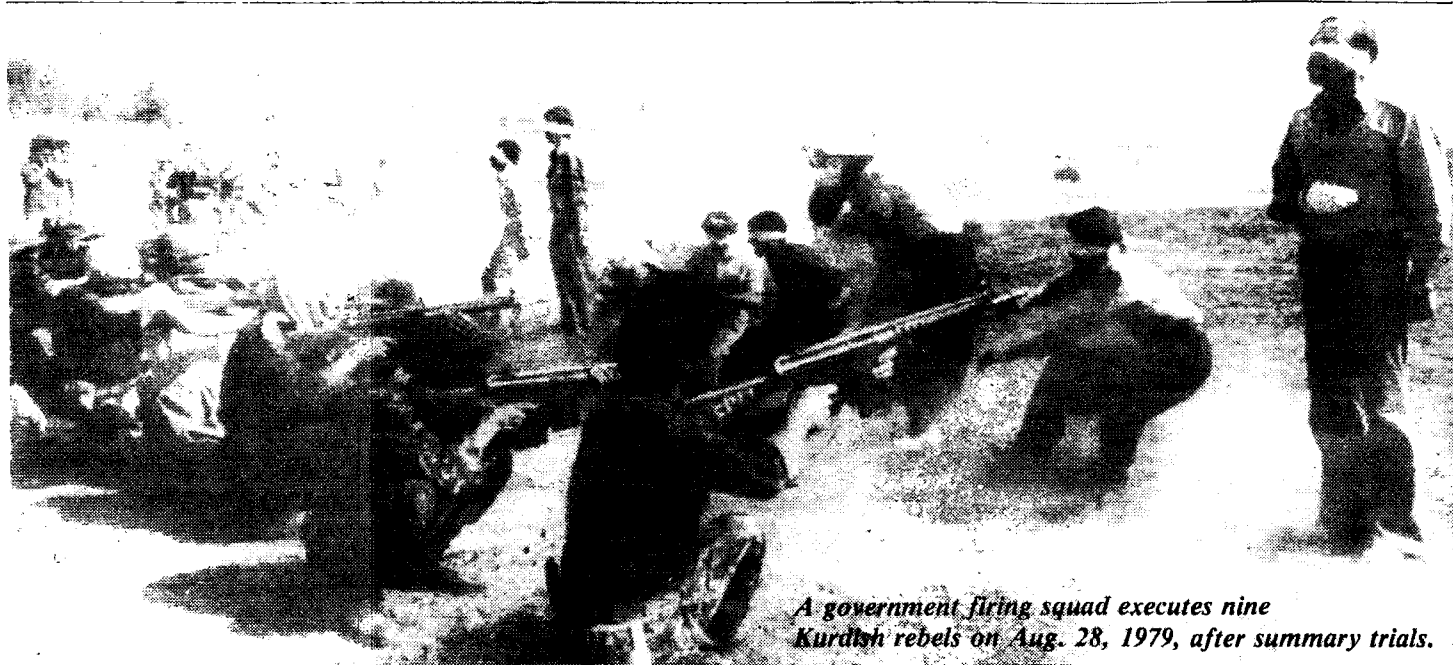
Perhaps the most important testimony, however, came from an expert on Chilean law and former member of the Chilean supreme court, Eugenio Velasco. Subpoenaed to testify, Velasco established the legal connection of the Chilean secret intelligence forces, DINA, to the military government, and to General Pinochet himself. "Pinochet had 100 percent control over the DINA," Velasco testified. "Contreras and he were very close friends." When asked if the mission to

'Remember,' a Chilean officer warned Orlando Letelier on the day he was exiled, 'General Pinochet will not tolerate activities against his government.'

assassinate Letelier would have had to have been reported to General Pinochet, Velasco answered, "Yes, I think so."

In a surprise move, Michael Tigar, lawyer for the families, presented to the court an Associated Press report dated June 17 as evidence of the guilt of the Pinochet regime. The story quoted unidentified banking officials as saying that the Chilean government had begun to transfer large amounts of capital to banks in Canada. The move appears to be designed to put Chile's assets out of the legal reach of the American courts, which, in the event of a ruling favorable to the families of the deceased, would be empowered to seize such assets. The scenario of enforcing payment if the Pinochet regime is held liable for damages includes the possible seizure of a LAN Chile aircraft or of a boat of the Chilean national shipping line.

IRAN



A government firing squad executes nine Kurdish rebels on Aug. 28, 1979, after summary trials.

Kurds' long, difficult way

By Gerard Chaliand

THE IRANIAN EMPIRE—KNOWN as Persia until 1934—is a patchwork of diverse ethnic groups. In a population estimated at 36 million, there are some 15 million Persians, and 21 million members of other ethnic groups. Most estimates agree that there are roughly 14 million Turkish-speaking people, of which about 13 million are Azerbaijani, five to six million Kurds, more than one million Arabs and nearly one million Baluchis.

For the most part, each ethnic group has its own language: Farsi, or Persian, is the language of the Persians themselves as well as the Lurs and the Bakhtiars, but it is also the *lingua franca* throughout Iran, and in a large part of Afghanistan. All of these peoples are Moslems, but except for the Persians and Azerbaijanis, few are Shi'ite Moslems. Most Kurds are Sunni, as are virtually all Turkmen, Arabs and Baluchis.

The centralization of modern Iran was the work of Reza Shah—father of the deposed late Shah Mohammed Reza—who founded the Pahlavi dynasty in 1926. During the '20s and '30s, he launched a series of military campaigns to crush large nomadic tribes such as the Qashgai and the Bakhtiars. He also ordered the execution of the most prominent Arab leader in Khuzestan, the Sheik Khazel, and oversaw the military suppression of the Kurds.

Reza Shah also ruled that Persian should be the official language throughout the empire: on the radio, in the press, in schools and in government offices.

Reza Shah abdicated in favor of his son in 1941 when British and Soviet troops invaded the country to cut Iran's ties with Germany. In 1945, Kurdistan and Azerbaijan were proclaimed independent republics under Soviet protection. But in 1946 the Red Army was forced to evacuate northwest Iran, and Mohammed Reza suppressed the Kurdish and Azerbaijani republics—for the most part without striking a blow.

The central government in Tehran then abolished most of the militant programs of the Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan (PDKI, founded in 1945). Kurdistan was divided into four separate regions and Persian again became the official language. Similar measures were put into effect in Azerbaijan. To encourage conflict among various ethnic groups, Kurds were brought in to work in the police forces and local government offices in Azerbaijan, while in Kurdistan these jobs were reserved for Azerbaijanis.

During the 32 years that the Shah held the throne, his police, army and administrative bureaucracy maintained law and order throughout Iran. Three brief uprisings—two by the Kurds in 1956 and 1968, and one by the Qashgai in 1965—were quickly put down. But with the disintegration of the imperial army in February 1979, non-Persian groups such as the Kurds again put forward their claims for local autonomy.

For the Kurds, this would mean autonomy within Iran for the entire region of Kurdistan. Kurdish as well as Persian would be recognized as official languages, and the Kurds would manage their own affairs and provide for their own internal security—although the Iranian army would continue to maintain troops there as they do throughout the country.

In March 1979, after 33 years of clandestine activity, the PDKI set up official headquarters in Mahabad under the leadership of Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, a professor of economics who taught for many years in Prague and then in Paris. Ghassemlou has been secretary general of the PDKI since 1970. In April 1979, a delegation from the PDKI was sent to

Qom to present these Kurdish demands to the Ayatollah Khomeini, but he told the delegates that their claims were unacceptable. Since then there has been intermittent fighting between the regime's "pasdaran" revolutionary guards and the Kurdish militia fighters known as "peshmargas." Meanwhile, the PDKI has continued recruiting. They have been so effective that 85 percent of the people in Kurdistan abstained from voting in the national referendum of December 1979 in response to a PDKI boycott call.

Earlier in 1979, the PDKI had invited delegations of Turkmen, Arabs, Baluchis and Azerbaijanis to a "Congress of the Oppressed Peoples of Iran," to be held in Mahabad in August. But on Aug. 17, 1979, Khomeini took the secessionists by surprise and ordered the army to attack the cities in the Iranian section of Kurdistan. There was some resistance, notably in Mahabad, but by Sept. 5 the army had taken most of the cities in the province—although the Kurdish forces withdrew to the mountains with only minor losses. The army seemed to have lost the will to chase them, and settled for control of the cities and major lines of communication.

In fact, the army was badly shaken by

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the fall of the Shah and the Ayatollah's rise to power. By the end of 1979 many soldiers were uncertain and divided among themselves. In November, Kurdish forces took advantage of the army's paralysis and reoccupied all the cities of Kurdistan. In effect, they established local autonomy.

The Ayatollah Khomeini's fundamentalist regime rests on a deeply ambiguous claim to power. It claims religious authority as a unifying power within the Moslem world, but it is also implicitly Persian and, above all, imperial. In mid-December 1979—a time of considerable tension over the referendum on the new constitution—the government in Tehran announced a 14-point plan that would grant a measure of autonomy to the ethnic groups.

But the government's definition of autonomy, which recognizes the cultural rights of these ethnic groups, falls far short of the federal organization the groups desire. The Kurds, for example, claim an area currently divided among four separate Iranian provinces, Kurdistan itself and Kurdish districts of western Azerbaijan, Kermenshah and Ilam. The government opposes these claims, and intends to divide Kurdistan into two administrative units. In any case, aside from the measures concerning local languages, the government's plan has not yet been put into effect.

It is said in Tehran that the government's refusal to grant autonomy to the Kurds is rooted in fear that the other ethnic groups demanding autonomy—notably the Turkmen and the Arabs—will also take up arms in defense of their claims. The real problem is that those who speak in the name of the Iranian revolution are staunch imperialists, for whom the concept of federation remains unthinkable.

The Kurds, who are the most insistent in demanding autonomy, and who support their demands with considerable force, have borne the greatest weight of military suppression. By contrast, the Turkmen are relatively few, the Khuzestani Arabs are poorly organized, and the Baluchis are both few and poorly organized. The Azerbaijanis, by far the largest ethnic group in Iran (nearly 13 million), were mostly integrated into the Iranian state during the rule of the Shah and have little interest in local autonomy.

At the end of March, a personal representative of the Ayatollah Khomeini, the Ayatollah Kermani, publicly acknowledged the legitimacy of the Kurdish claims on a television program that was retransmitted by the Kurdish regional channel. But Bani-Sadr's government continues to demand that the Kurds lay

Continued on page 10.

Iran's Shah: modernizer and tyrant

By Gerard Chaliand

The death of the Shah of Iran, in Cairo, after a prolonged illness, can be viewed in a variety of ways. For a large section of world opinion, and probably for the majority of the Iranian people, this marks the end of a tyrant. This interpretation finds reasonable ground in the arbitrary and absolutist rule that was among the characteristics of his reign. His name had become synonymous with SAVAK, his political police whose crimes, although widely revealed by Amnesty International, long remained little known by the Western world, whose leaders were pleased by the Shah's policies.

The Shah was indeed the leader of a strong state allied to the West, benevolent toward Israel, strongly anti-Communist, and was acting as the guarantor of law and order in the framework of the "Pax Americana" in the Middle East.

However, he will also remain in history as a modernizer who, from 1963 until his fall, had undertaken a task whose magnitude and complexity he himself probably could not have suspected: that of lifting Iran to the level of a great industrial power, modeled after the West. This task, in

his eyes, required the secularization of society.

Heir to the dynasty of the Pahlavis created in 1926 by his father, Reza Shah (an officer of the Persian Army, brought to and later removed from power in 1941 by the British), who, following the example of Kemal Ataturk, undertook the creation of a modern Iran, the late Shah will join the ranks of reformers who have failed to carry out this task.

During the immediate aftermath of World War II, Iran was threatened with secessionist movements inspired by the Soviet Union in the Republics of Azerbaijan and Mahabad (Kurdistan). The Anglo-Saxon powers then came to the rescue of the Shah in order to keep Iran within their sphere of influence. After Mossadegh tried too soon to gain control of Iranian oil, the Shah was brought back to power in 1963 by a coup organized by the CIA. Little by little, he began to eliminate his political adversaries, and brought the different ethnic groups of Iran under his control. Beginning in 1963, he launched his "White Revolution," and promulgated an agrarian reform that destroyed the influence of the great landowners, which was replaced by that of the state.

Between 1973 and 1977, nearly a

quarter of the rural population flooded the towns and cities. In 1974, 88 percent of the state's revenue came from oil. The huge surplus stemming from oil sales forced a revision of the Fifth Iranian Economic Plan. The projected annual growth jumped from 11.4 percent to 25.9 percent, but the country's techno-cultural capacity and the particular type of growth fostered by the Shah did not allow the country to absorb that surplus. After an initial boom, inflation reached 35 percent in 1975.

The absence of any civil and political rights (a single party was instituted in 1975), the inefficiency of the state, which was unable to resolve the economic chaos, and social inequalities of a progressively exorbitant nature brought the crisis to a boil.

An accelerated modernization program destabilized Iranian society by alienating and disorienting the masses. Such were the causes of the Iranian revolution, exacerbated by the identity problems raised by the type of uncontrolled modernization inspired by Western models.

The death of the Shah probably will not affect the internal situation of Iran, where nothing seems yet to have been done to solve the crisis of the Iranian society.

Kurds



Continued from page 9.

down their arms before negotiations begin.

Between November 1979 and April 1980 the military situation in Kurdistan could be compared to an American football game: at a given moment in November, as at the sound of a whistle, the players froze and then held their positions until play could begin again.

The five months of respite between the cease-fire and the resumption of fighting in April permitted the Kurds to reorganize their forces and spread their views among the people. The Kurdish *peshmergas* were divided into regular units led by officers—often Kurdish officers who had left the Iranian army after the fall of the Shah. Camps were set up in the mountains in preparation for war. Most striking for an outside observer is the extent of popular support for the PDKI and the widespread use among the people of the watchword “autonomy.” The party appeals to all classes within the society, but its strongest support is among the working classes, and it claims more than three-fourths of the Kurdish vote.

The single most important innovation within the Kurdish movement—one that has been largely unnoticed by observers—is that today for the first time it boasts a formidable and modernist leader, well-informed about his own society and about the rest of the world. Under his direction, in the last few months, the PDKI has won a considerable following throughout Kurdistan. Free of dogmatism, A.R. Ghassemlou is Bani-Sadr’s most imposing adversary.

The Kurdish movement’s resources are extremely limited, however, in large part because it is not supported by any foreign power—contrary to the allegations of the Iranian government, which is quick to suggest that all opposition parties in the country are manipulated by foreign backers. Even the pro-Soviet Tudeh (communist) party has only a very limited influence with the Kurdish movement.

It seems likely that Bani-Sadr’s government intends to enforce increasingly severe measures to guarantee “law and order.” Of course it is widely known that Iranian leaders are divided among themselves, and that it is all but impossible to assign responsibility for the government’s policies. And in the Persian society, where political promises and rhetoric are the rule, a leader’s actions are generally more revealing than his words. In this respect, it seems increasingly clear that Bani-Sadr has no intention of granting autonomy to the Kurds, as the recent resumption of fighting indicates.

It is far from clear that the Iranian state has the power to see its intentions through. It is one thing to decide to maintain national unity by means of police operations, another to go on marking time without managing to crush the secessionists.

In Kurdistan, the stage is set for a prolonged guerrilla war, and the *peshmergas* will not be easily defeated. The Iranian government seems determined to crush the Kurdish secessionists, but it is far from certain that it has the means to do so. The military police adopted by Mr. Bani-Sadr could well be the makings of his eventual downfall.

SOUTH AFRICA



There will be no return to ‘normal’

By James North

JOHANNESBURG

IN 1960, SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE shot and killed 61 black protesters at Sharpeville, a township just south of here. The massacre touched off a worldwide outcry and entered the history books.

Two months ago, police killed an estimated 42 Africans of mixed descent (“coloreds”) at Elsie’s River, a ghetto near Cape Town. The killings, which closely followed the daring African National Congress raid against the Sasol oil-from-coal refinery, briefly shocked the white community. But the incidents have already sunk from memory.

Most whites here are back in their dream world, taking vacations to the seacoast to escape the cold winter, cheering their rugby teams on as the season draws to an end, or poring over accounts of the Miss South Africa contest (all but one of the finalists were white).

In part, white smugness has returned because the standard by which violence is assessed has escalated since 1960. Some 1000 people died in the Soweto rebellion four years ago, and the massacre at Elsie’s River seems a mere skirmish by comparison.

But also, a stiffening of government control over the press, and a corresponding growth in press timidity, is preventing whites from realizing that black South Africa is not returning to normalcy. Whites here are notoriously ill-informed about the black community, and virtually their only source of information has been a handful of feisty English-language newspapers and magazines.

The regime has steadily chipped away at freedom of the press over the years. In 1979, it took another major step toward total censorship by passing the Police Act. In theory, the Act merely requires the press to take “reasonable steps” to verify that reports on police actions are accurate. In practice, it prevents the press from publishing anything on the police without prior clearance. An amendment passed this year also permits the regime to ban any news on police activity in certain areas at certain times.

The Prisons and Defense Acts that control information in those areas were already in effect. Now with the Police Act, South Africa is firmly in a twilight

zone where rumor, fact and ignorance intermingle. The English-language press downplayed the killings at Elsie’s River, carrying no reports of how the 42 actually died. There were no interviews with witnesses or survivors who would have contradicted the regime’s line that “skollies” (hooligans) were to blame. Unrest continues to simmer elsewhere, particularly along the southern coast, but it is similarly understated.

Several hundred people—no one knows the exact figure—continue to be held in detention without trial. The ban on any political meeting of more than 10 people has been extended. (Outdoor gatherings without a permit have been illegal since Soweto.) The school boycott movement seems to be losing strength in some areas, but gaining in others. The regime has banned two more people: Helen Joseph, a 75-year-old longtime white activist, and Fanyana Mazibuko, a young and respected black educator. There are reports that the military is guarding Sasol and other key installations and factories; in the past, the regime has only used the police inside the country, in part to avoid causing alarm. Vague casualty figures continue to trickle in from what is now a full-scale guerrilla war in Namibia.

Labor disputes are occurring regularly. At one Sasol plant (there are three) some 300 black workers reportedly rioted and then 18,000 struck to protest against harassment by the military guards. A white man was killed under mysterious circumstances. In Uitenhage, the southern industrial town that was completely shut down in June, workers at the Volkswagen, Ford and General Motors plants won wage increases averaging 40 percent. The well-organized auto workers set a precedent that is expected to trigger more strikes elsewhere.

The regime knows it cannot hide the unrest from whites forever. Its wholly-controlled television broadcasting company recently screened a series about life in Israel, suggesting that white South Africans prepare themselves for a similar state of permanent internal war.

An Afrikaans-speaking white teacher here who has long advocated majority rule shares the regime’s prognosis, if not its objective. He said recently, “The question we once asked was ‘Which side are you on?’ It has now become, ‘Which side will you fight for?’”

Hunger

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A-016

EASTERN EUROPE

By Eric Lee

A RECENT ITEM IN *NATIONAL Review* (July 11) remarks: "A couple of writers in Poland have been tried for and convicted of owning a mimeograph machine, which is illegal in Poland, as it is in all the progressive nations." Another object lesson, undoubtedly, in the futility of trying to change those Communist societies—after all, if even in Poland, that most "liberal" Warsaw Pact country, this can happen, there can't be much hope. Time to vote for Reagan and increase the defense budget.

But...the facts are wrong. It wasn't writers on trial—that wouldn't be news in a Communist country—it was independent publishers. And they weren't charged with owning a mimeograph—they do, in fact, own mimeographs and more sophisticated equipment throughout Poland—just with stealing one. And though the accused were indeed "tried and convicted," they received suspended sentences.

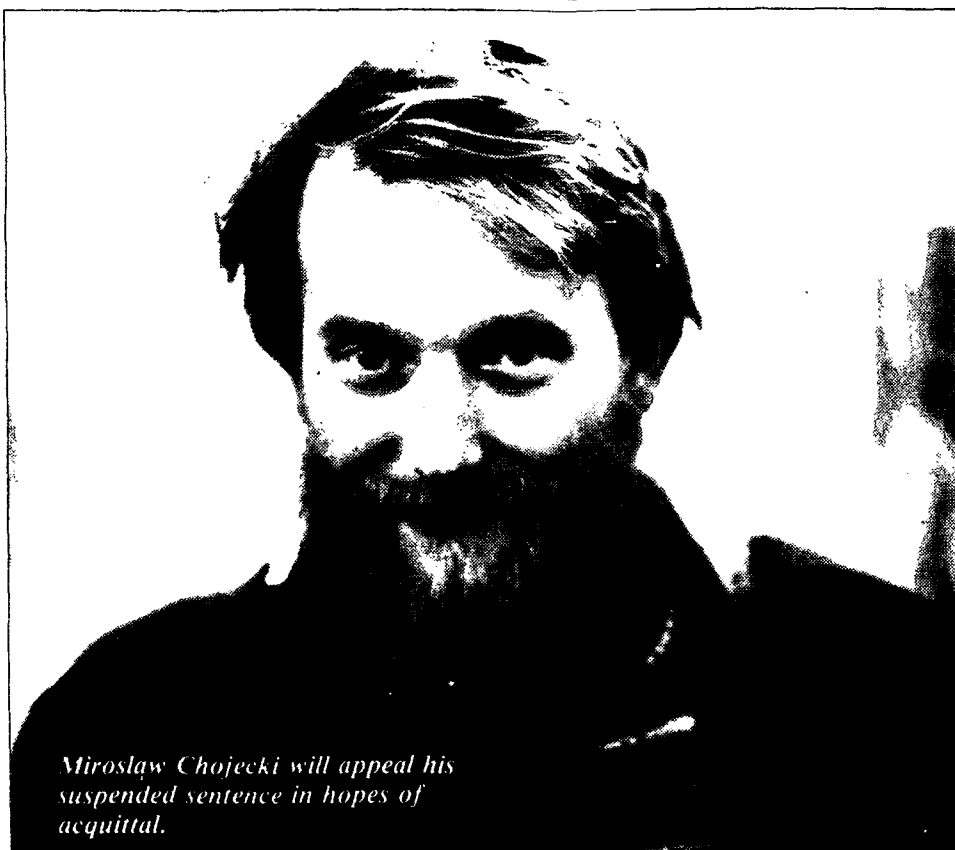
The recent trial of Miroslaw Chojecki and Bogdan Grzesiak ended with a remarkable victory for the Polish dissident movement and for the independent publishing house, NOWA, which Chojecki heads. It also reflected a significant decline in the authority of the Gierek regime. It was hardly an everyday event in a Communist country, but recent observers of Poland should not have been surprised.

This December will mark the end of a decade of turbulence in Poland that began in 1970 with food riots that toppled the Gomulka regime. A wave of strikes and protests in 1976 failed to topple Gomulka's successor, but, for the first time, created a stable, permanent dissident organization—the KSS-KOR (Social Self-Defense Committee). A group of young people in Lublin then launched NOWA (an acronym for *Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza*—the Independent Publishing House). It was soon dominated by Warsaw-based KSS-KOR intellectuals, and by the former nuclear researcher, Miroslaw Chojecki.

Are independent publishers part of a quiet process of democratic change in Poland?

According to a document released last April, NOWA was founded to "protest against the lawlessness of censorship." The independent publishers quote a young Karl Marx: "Censorship, like slavery, can never be legal, even if it is embodied a thousand times in laws and regulations." In his speech at his trial, Chojecki declared NOWA's activities to be entirely legal under the Polish constitution. Article 83 declares: "The Polish People's Republic guarantees citizens freedom of speech, of the printed word, of assembly, processions and demonstrations.... In order to realize this freedom, the following are placed at the disposal of the working people and their organizations: printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, means of communication, radio and other necessary material means."

But it proved impossible, says Chojecki, even to buy the "most primitive duplicator or xerograph...ink, stencils or polygraphic materials." "At times," writes Jan Walc in *Index on Censorship*, "even paper is only available in special shops reserved for members of the Writers' Union." But though the situation may appear to the Polish dissidents, it is incomparably better than that faced by their counterparts in the USSR and China. In the latter country, dissidents are largely confined to use of wall pos-



Miroslaw Chojecki will appeal his suspended sentence in hopes of acquittal.

The illegal Polish mimeo machine free speech victory

ters. In the more technologically-advanced Soviet Union, dissidents copy whole books by hand or on typewriters, denied access even to photocopyers. And these conditions prevail some 500 years after the invention of moveable type.

How does NOWA then obtain the materials with which to publish? Every NOWA publication contains this statement: "The Independent Publishing Enterprise performs its task with the support of society. Its success depends on the texts that reach us, help with distribution, procuring equipment and polygraphic materials, financial help." A recent NOWA leaflet reports that "scores of people...manage to obtain the necessary paper and newsprint, duplicating machines and wax stencil plates. They print, set the type, bind and deliver the finished product to distribution points." A Western publisher travelling to Poland asked the NOWA publishers in what way he could help them. He expected to hear an impassioned appeal for political and moral support. Instead he was told: "Bring staples."

Getting the materials is only one of NOWA's problems. Another major one is continuous police harassment. According to Jan Walc, "the authorities had given the police full license to suppress the publishing business even though they weren't permitted to persecute other dissident activities." NOWA activists—they number fewer than 20 at the core, according to NOWA's U.S. representative, Tadeusz Walendowski—have been under surveillance; printing equipment and more than 120 typewriters have been confiscated; collaborators of NOWA are harassed and arrested. Chojecki has been searched 80 times in three and a half years, his apartment was searched 15 times, and he has spent five months in detention. Nevertheless, the output has been impressive.

NOWA has published nearly 100 books, in editions ranging from 1000 to 10,000 copies. They publish literary and political works by dissident Polish authors, by emigre writers whom the official publishers will not print, and translations of foreign works as well. The translations have included Gunter Grass' *The Tin Drum*, short stories by I.B. Singer, Orwell's *Animal Farm*, Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, as well as works by Bertrand Russell and the speeches of Pope John Paul II.

NOWA's specialty has been Polish lit-

erature, and its best-selling book is Tadeusz Konwicki's *The Little Apocalypse*. It publishes two literary magazines, *Zapis* and *Puls*. More than 100 authors have already appeared in *Zapis*—in completely uncensored form. It even publishes several journals whose editorial boards are independent of NOWA, including the political quarterly *Krytyka* (2,000 copies).

The trial of the NOWA publishers took place against this background. Several hundred people attended the trial, among them representatives of the official Polish Writers Union and the Polish PEN Club. Chojecki delivered a 30-minute address that has been described as "not a defense, but a counter-accusation." He insisted that "this trial is only the latest move against our publishing enterprise." Chojecki discussed Polish

history and culture, even raising such taboo subjects as the Polish-Soviet fighting in 1920, the Katyn Forest massacre, as well as the more recent rebellions of 1956, 1968, 1970 and 1976.

A dozen people came to the courtroom, including Chojecki, wearing NOWA T-shirts. Chojecki demanded that NOWA's catalogue, listing all the titles it has published, be inserted into the trial record. He was ultimately happy with the suspended sentence he received, but has nonetheless decided to appeal the case, hoping for a complete acquittal. One can hardly imagine such a scene in any other Communist capital. It has been said that Polish dissidents suffer from the delusion that they live in New York and not Warsaw. They certainly do not act with the timidity one has come to expect in Eastern bloc countries.

Since the trial, things have settled down in Warsaw. Chojecki is back running NOWA, which now plans to publish Orwell's 1984. I asked Tadeusz Walendowski how the trial affected morale among the dissidents. "After four years of this," he explained, "they are used to it." I asked him what kind of support Americans can give to the independent publishers of NOWA.

It is most important, he said, to publicize the activity of NOWA in the West. The worldwide attention focused on Chojecki—including a protest from the International Publishers Association—helped keep him out of jail. NOWA also badly needs technical and financial assistance. (Contributions may be sent to Walendowski at 5018 N. 4 St., Arlington, VA 22203.) Walendowski suggested that American publishers print more works in Polish, so NOWA can distribute them in Poland. Finally, he urged strong and continued support for Radio Free Europe, which, unlike the government-owned Voice of America, broadcasts NOWA publications in full and is not jammed. "People don't know," Walendowski said, "just how important radio is."

NOWA is part of an exciting renaissance in Poland. There is reason to hope that a Communist country may be undergoing a peaceful, though slow, evolution into a pluralistic democracy. But one only has to think of the hopes raised by Titoist Yugoslavia, by the Prague Spring, by Khrushchev's liberalization in the Soviet Union and by the more recent "opening up" in China to be cautious. But all those were changes made from above. In Poland today, the initiative is being made from below.

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Gloria Steinem
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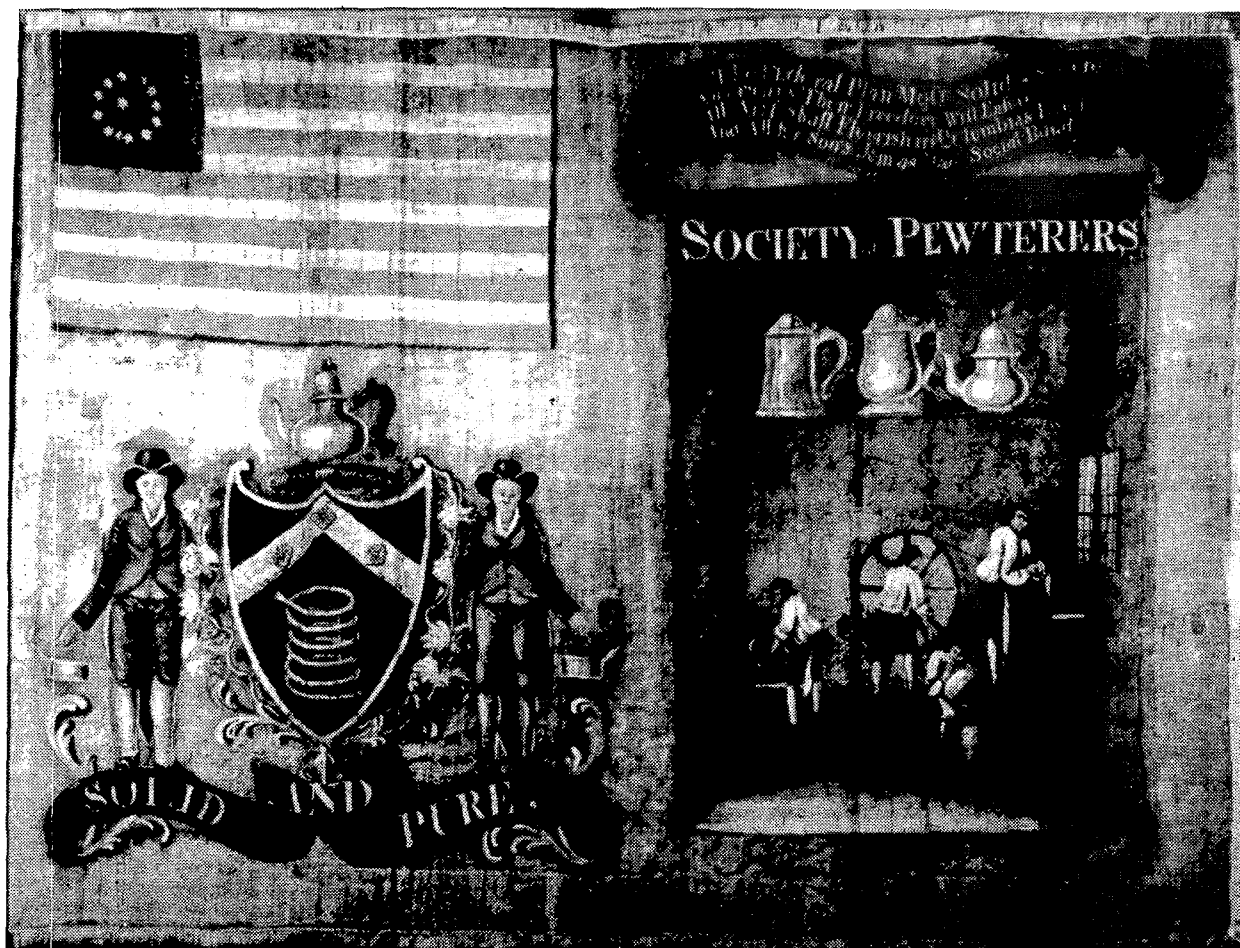
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American Labor and Politics Part I



R·E·V·O·L·U·T·I·O·N·A·R·Y·M·E·C·H·A·N·I·C·S

By Alfred F. Young

Series edited by
Paul Buhle and Alan Dawley

THIS ARTICLE BEGINS A SERIES ON the history of labor in American politics intended to shed light on current strategies for labor in the face of disarray on the left.

To assess the present options confronting the labor movement, it is essential to know the realities of its past politics. Given the power of private property and the cultural diversity of America's working people, it was inevitable that movements resisting the evils of capitalism would differ on how—or whether—private property could be made to serve the public good.

The series examines these differences. It explores tensions and alliances between various social movements. And it assesses the impact of liberal and radical organizations on working class political actions, showing what conditions led to the rise and fall of anarchist, socialist and communist parties, where participating in the mainstream brought gains and where losses, and why independent labor and farm-labor parties arose.

WHERE DOES THE HISTORY of American labor begin? What are the roots of radicalism among American work-

ers? For too many Americans there is no labor history until the rise of the factory, no radicalism until modern European ideas made their way to the United States.

In the nineteenth century many working people and radicals thought otherwise. They recognized a time when American workers helped make a revolution—the American Revolution—and bent the institutions of government toward democracy.

Countless unions, labor parties and reform groups couched their grievances in the language of the Declaration of Independence. In 1860, when the shoemakers of Lynn, Mass., conducted the biggest strike up to the Civil War, they be-

gan it on George Washington's birthday and placed the American flag at the head of their parade.

In 1876, on the centennial celebration of the Revolution, Wendell Phillips—the great abolitionist who after the Civil War went on to believe in “the overthrow of the whole profit-making system”—expressed the other side of this same theme:

“It was the mechanics of Boston that threw the tea into the docks; it was the mechanics of Boston that held up the hands of Sam Adams; it was the mechanics of Boston, Paul Revere among them, that made the Green Dragon [Tavern] immortal.... The men who carried us threw the Revolution were the mechanics of Boston.”

What did Wendell Phillips and the Lynn shoemakers know about the Revolution that would be almost totally lost by the time of the Bicentennial in 1976?

AN EARLY AMERICAN MECHANIC was a skilled craftsman. Sometimes he was called a tradesman—a man with a trade. He might be a master, a journeyman or an apprentice. On the eve of the Revolution most mechanics lived in the major cities, like Philadelphia, the largest, with a population of 35,000; New York with 20,000; Boston with 16,000, Newport or Charleston. In a country with two million whites and half a million slaves, about 100,000 people lived in the large cities, where from one-half to two-thirds of the adult males were in the mechanic classes. Most were of British origin; a sprinkling were from northern and western Europe; all but a handful were Protestant.

The cities were seaports and they were growing, which meant that large numbers of mechanics were in the maritime trades (shipyards, ropewalks and sail cloth lofts) or in the building trades. Other mechanics produced goods for consumers (blacksmiths, silversmiths, and cabinet makers, tailors and shoemakers), often in competition with manufactures imported from Britain. And there was a mixed group in the service trades: “the butcher, the baker, the candlestick maker.”

A typical master mechanic owned his own shop, employing perhaps a journeyman and invariably a number of apprentices aged 14 to 21. A large-scale factory was a rarity; in the cities a shipyard with one or two dozen men or a ropewalk with ten was big. Full-fledged wage workers were numerous mostly in trades like these that required large capital investments. In many trades, apprentices who received room and board outnumbered journeymen.

Outside the skilled system there were large numbers of semi-skilled workers: merchant seamen, cartmen, stevedores and common laborers. At the very bottom were slaves, some skilled, most household servants, a small and declining proportion of all workers—at least in the northern cities. Women often assisted their husbands in the skilled trades; occasionally one took over her husband's shop on his death. Otherwise, they were in “women's” work, making lace or washing clothes, or were petty shopkeepers, or keepers of grog shops.

Among mechanics a small minority were successful, well-to-do men like the printer Benjamin Franklin, or the silversmith Paul Revere. At the bottom were a growing number of propertyless men and women in the “lower” trades who knew the inside of the poorhouse. And precariously perched were a large number of “middling” artisans who suffered hard times in seasonal unemployment or frequent trade dislocations and knew the inside of the debtors' prison.

Wealthy merchants stood at the top of the cities—export-import wholesalers who owned ships and warehouses. Whatever their condition, the status of mechanics was low. Even masters in the “higher” trades were not quite respectable in the eyes of “gentlemen” who put “Esq.” after their names. And the “mechanic arts” were considered inferior to the “liberal arts.”

A mechanic usually aspired to be “a man for himself.” Some desired to rise up out of their trade, but most would probably have agreed with the “tanners, curriers and cord-wainers [shoemakers]”

of Philadelphia when they wrote in a petition, "the far greater number of us have been contented to live decently without acquiring wealth." "Our professions," they explained, "rendered us useful and necessary members of the community, proud of that rank, we aspired no higher." The virtues Benjamin Franklin preached in his almanacs—hard work, sobriety and thrift—were popular among mechanics; they were a source of mechanic pride.

As measured by late definitions, there was no "labor movement" in the colonies. Yet there were long traditions of collective activity. It was common for artisans in a single trade in a city to join together on a temporary basis without establishing formal organizations: to set prices (the building trades); to cope with city rulers over mercantile regulations (bakers); to petition colonial assemblies for aid or relief. Self activity among journeymen was far less frequent and strikes were unusual.

On the other hand, there was a thick web of custom by which skilled workers set the pace on the job and what went on in the workshop. And in their communities mechanics shared equally strong traditions of collective action in crowds—the "better sort" would say "mobs"—of grain riots or market riots to enforce a just price, or riots against impressment into the British navy among sailors and dockworkers.

Before the Revolution, politics was generally a contest among elites. Most masters were qualified to vote, either in town meetings in New England or elsewhere for Assembly elections. A lesser number usually were qualified to vote for city officials. Journeymen and laborers were all but disfranchised. When political contests heated up, gentlemen would appeal to mechanics, but "shoemaker, stick to thy last" was their motto. Mechanics were not accustomed to meeting on their own for political purposes or to putting forth mechanic candidates. All this would change in the Revolution.

FROM 1765 TO 1776 MECHANICS became active in the resistance to Britain. First, whatever affected the rights of colonists to retain self-government, like the parliamentary imposition of taxes, also affected them. In Philadelphia in 1773, "A Mechanic" argued that the Tea Act was oppressive, "whether we have property of our own, or not." A principle was at stake; "whether our property, and the dear earned fruits of our own labour are at our own disposal."

Second, some British actions affected workers directly. For merchant seamen, impressment was a continuing threat. British troops in Boston and New York were an abrasive presence, especially to journeymen with whom they competed for off-duty jobs.

Third, manufacturing became an issue. "It is sincerely to be lamented," wrote a Pennsylvanian, "that the mechanic arts and manufactures cannot be encouraged by our legislature...but it happens somehow that our Mother County apprehends she has a right to manufacture every article we consume, except Bread and Meat." As patriots adopted the tactic of non-importation of British goods, the corollary, "Buy American," aroused a vision of the potential for American manufactures.

The range of political activity by mechanics was large and creative. Crowd action was the most spectacular. It was directed against royal officials to prevent the enforcement of new laws against informers who caused the arrest of colonials; against merchants who violated the boycott of British imports; against occupying troops. Crowds that tarred and feathered customs informers, or confronted soldiers, were usually workingmen's crowds.

Distinct Committees of Mechanics were a feature of New York and Philadelphia. They called meetings of "mechanics, tradesmen and manufacturers," passed resolutions, met with merchants' committees, chose delegates for joint committees and ran mechanics for office. As resistance intensified, mechanics'

militia companies often took the political initiative. In Philadelphia, the Committee of Privates, speaking for poor artisans and journeymen, became the backbone of the radicals—debating politics in actions reminiscent of Oliver Cromwell's army a century before.

In this wide range of activity, mechanics responded to leaders of different sorts: to middle-class men popularly known as the Sons of Liberty, like Samuel Adams; to wealthy merchants who proved their patriotism, like John Hancock; and to men who emerged from the mechanic classes.

M ECHANICS WERE OFTEN divided, but as the political crisis deepened they tended to coalesce. There was a smaller proportion of Tories among them than any other urban class. Within the patriot coalition, the strength of mechanics was related to the degree of patriotism among the merchants. In Philadelphia, where the wealthy abdicated or hung back in neutralism, mechanics rushed into the vacuum. In Boston, where the merchant class as a whole was patriotic and the popular leaders skillful, there were no separate mechanic committees and a low level of mechanic consciousness. New York was somewhere in between.

In the period of political resistance to Britain from 1765 to 1774, the seaboard cities—all capital cities and centers of imperial power—were important out of proportion to their populations. Within the cities, mechanics and laborers in effect nullified the Stamp Act, provided the physical coercion to enforce the boycotts, took the lead in direct action against British troops, provided the muscle for the Tea Parties and effectively isolated the Loyalists.

From 1774 to 1776, when resistance turned to rebellion, mechanics were crucial. The first Continental Congress met in Carpenters' Hall after it was denied the official state house by Philadelphia conservatives. In 1776, *Common Sense*, written by Thomas Paine, an English artisan attuned to Philadelphia's artisans, crystallized the sentiment for independence as opposed to reconciliation. The most widely distributed pamphlet in eighteenth-century America, it was written in the plain language of the common people and appealed to and reflected their desire for a voice in government no less than their desire for independence. Mechanics and farmers thus exerted the pressure from below that moved reluctant rebels toward independence.

T HERE WAS A PROGRESSION in mechanic experience. As men participated in one crowd action after another, as crowds became meetings, as meetings formed committees, as committees elected candidates, mechanics recognized their capacity to shape events.

Every effort to put mechanics down only heightened their political consciousness. In Philadelphia, when mechanics put up their own candidates and conservatives questioned the capacity of "leather aprons" to govern, the reply was indignant: "Do not mechanics and farmers constitute 99 out of 100 of the people of America?... Is not one-half the property of the city of Philadelphia owned by men who wear leather aprons?"

In Charleston, when an Anglican minister derided "every silly clown and illiterate mechanic" for presuming to censure their rulers, the local newspaper denounced him for this affront "to the honest and industrious mechanic"; his congregation (with a large number of mechanics) dismissed him, and a Rhode Island correspondent exclaimed: "All such divines should be taught to know that mechanics and country clowns (infamously so called) are the real and absolute masters of kings, lords, commons and priests, (though with shame be it spoken) they too often suffer their servants to get upon their backs and ride them most barbarously."

Mechanics asked for a political voice, not for control. They moved quickly toward demanding representation. Where the political system thwarted them, they asked for reforms, such as a secret ballot

Continued on page 22.

Celebrating the federal Constitution in a parade in New York in 1788, the Society of Pewterers carried their banner, which featured the traditional symbols of their trade—a work scene and the American flag (opposite).



Mechanics demonstrate against the Stamp Act in 1765 wearing their characteristic leather aprons. They are joined by a black youth and women. From a German engraver's illustration (above). Thomas Paine, the English artisan whose popular pamphlet *Common Sense* crystallized sentiment for independence in 1776 (left). "By Hammer and Hand All Arts do Stand," the central motif of membership certificates of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen of New York, founded soon after the Revolution (below).



LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

DEVIOUS

THE REGULAR MEDIA HAVE OBSCURED the legal and political background to the issue of Cuban migration to the U.S.

What hasn't been sufficiently brought out is that anti-communist Cubans emigrate to the U.S., not only because they wish to leave Cuba, but above all because the U.S. lets them in. The basis for this arrangement is the Immigration Act of 1952, which grants automatic refugee status to anyone from a Communist country. Such easy entry is not granted to those fleeing right-wing dictatorships.

Soviet or Polish musicians can defect in complete confidence to the U.S., whereas Argentine or Chilean intellectuals cannot. Well-fed and literate Cuban emigres are heralded as "refugees," whereas undernourished Mexican wetbacks are stigmatized as "illegal aliens."

But it should be obvious that if this country were to open its borders to any Guatemalan or Chilean or South African who wants to get in, those nations would lose a good chunk of their labor force and skilled personnel.

Soviet musicians complain of regimentation and wish to make music more freely. Cuban emigres complain of the rice-and-bean rationing and want to purchase more consumer goods. The Central Americans who come here, on the other hand, complain of starvation, insecurity and disease, and just want to survive.

—Gene Bell-Villada
Cambridge, Mass.

EXPLAINING AWAY?

SOME TIME AGO YOUR COLUMNIST Roberta Lynch wrote an article "explaining" the post-1975 tragedies of Cambodia and Vietnam. In her July 30 column she "explains" the exodus from Cuba. I have the feeling that Roberta Lynch would have been writing for a left publication "explaining" Stalin's purges of the '30s for that generation of left ideologues.

Roberta Lynch is unfortunately an evergreen generic voice of too many of the American traditional left. She ought to remove the "democratic" from her description of the New American Movement as "a democratic socialist organization." Roberta Lynch does not appear to believe in democracy, but rather in the shopworn fascist cliché "matters of temporary necessity." When has a dictatorship of the right or left not had its apologists and explainers telling us of "temporary necessities"?

—Mike LaVelle
Chicago

OR EXPLAINING?

I'VE JUST READ, WITH GREAT ADMIRATION, Roberta Lynch's piece about Cuba (*ITT*, July 30). It was uncommonly well reasoned and well expressed, a fine balance between sympathy and the facts. So often, we on the left permit our feelings to blur reality. Yet, of course, only by recognizing what is will we be able to even begin building what should be. It was a damn good piece, but not blinded by ideology. I hope *In These Times* can hang on.

—Richard J. Walton
New York

LAPSE?

INSPECTOR LESTRADE: IS THERE ANY point to which you wish to draw my attention?

Sherlock Holmes: To the curious incident of the dog in the night-time.

Inspector Lestrade: The dog did nothing in the night-time.

Sherlock Holmes: That was the curious incident.

And so it was regarding Garrett Lambrev's letter (*ITT*, July 30) in which he questioned both the integrity and the viability of the Citizens Party. Lambrev's charges, if left unchallenged, can inflict deep and lasting wounds.

Clearly, so one-sided an attack calls for an immediate rejoinder but none was forthcoming. Was this a lapse on the part of *ITT* or a not so subtle means of informing its readership that the Citizens Party has lost favor with its editorial staff?

—Sheldon Wallman
New York

Editor's Note: Neither. It was Lambrev's opinion, apparently based on his experience. We have no way of challenging him, and we do not send critical letters to organizations that are criticized for a response (though we are happy to print responses received). We still believe that the Citizens Party program is a substantial advance for the left.

NO KOOL-AID, PLEASE

GOSH, I SURE DON'T WANT MY FAVORITE rag to "become another victim to the ironies of capitalist development." As it is, I've been barely able to slake my thirst for progressive news and perspectives with your bi-monthly summer publication schedule. And if you ceased publication altogether—why, I'd rather take the Kool-Aid than go back to reading the *Trib*!

To stave off this mutual disaster, I've extracted from under my mattress and am forwarding to you my last half-a-C-note. Good luck.

—Ahmet R. Ayan
Chicago

IMPRESSED

I WAS GREATLY IMPRESSED WITH THE review of Joseph Lash's *Helen and Teacher* (*ITT*, July 30).

Ms. Marcus writes with both clarity, precision and quiet emotion. I am looking forward, as a result of her review, to reading *The Convert*—her own book.

—Richard Hoptner
Germantown, Pa.

NO FACTIONALISM

IN HIS REVIEW A FEW WEEKS AGO OF the documentary film *Free Voice of Labor: The Jewish Anarchists*, Victor Treschan complained that the film fails to show the foolish utopian opposition of the oldtime Jewish anarchists to the practical efforts of the oldtime Jewish socialists. It is true, as he says, that in the 1890s a struggle existed between anarchists and socialists in the Jewish labor movement—though in this struggle it was frequently the anarchists who were aligned with the practical-minded AFL, while the socialists indulged themselves

with dreamy schemes of getting elected president.

The main point, however, is that in the decades after the 1890s Jewish socialists and anarchists were in general united, not divided. They had philosophical differences, but were more often than not able to ally over issues of trade unionism, fraternalism, cooperatives, the preservation of the Yiddish language, and other matters. The socialist-dominated trade unions helped support that anarchist paper, the *Free Voice of Labor*, to the very end. Here is an instance in which factionalism did not plague the left. Imagine!

—Paul L. Berman
New York

A CONTRIBUTION IN TIME

I AM A MEMBER OF THE NEW AMERICAN Movement, so I thought I'd better send this in before I read your coverage of our convention. I probably wouldn't do it afterwards.

—Melvin E. Bell
Portland, Ore.

Editor's Note: Thanks Melvin, but it isn't so bad. (See page eight.)

ROCK STEADY

I WOULD CONSIDER IT A PERSONAL loss if *In These Times* is forced to cease or even temporarily suspend publication—especially during a Reagan presidency! No other publication has given me the coverage and analysis I need to supplement my daily dose of *New York Times*.

My check is enclosed—it's all I can spare at this moment. Here's hoping your excellent publication pulls through this period of crisis.

—Andy Schwartz
Publisher, New York Rocker
New York

TERRIFIC

YOUR MAGAZINE IS TERRIFIC! IT NOT only gives in-depth coverage of the most important issues, but it is way ahead of the other liberal and left-wing news-weeklies in its careful avoidance of editorializing the news. I have especially admired your balanced examination of John Anderson's political leanings. Keep it up!

—Phillip Bentley
New York

IS THERE A (SOCIALIST) DOCTOR IN THE HOUSE?

THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM HAS TERMINAL cancer. The U.S. can cure itself only with changes that go to the roots of the malady and change direction.

What angers me is why John Judis and David Moberg (*ITT*, July 16) describe the malady, quote all the economic doctors, but no socialist doctors. Surely they could have found socialists to prescribe what kind of changes are needed.

Moberg hopes for a Roosevelt in the '80s to introduce radical reforms, but Socialist and Communist parties advocated necessary reforms long before Roosevelt adopted them.

None of the economists quoted by Judis and Moberg found a way to solve the riddle of unemployment and inflation that is destroying the country. All have one thing in common, that the poor and workers must pay the cost of the sickness in a reduced standard of living.

It is time to tell people the truth. The sickness is within the capitalist system. The U.S. economy is dominated by large, conglomerate and multinational corporations. They go where profit is best. Production can no longer be extended to absorb the unemployed. Full capacity production is not used. Corporations reduce production in a narrowing market and use inflationary prices to keep profits high. It is the duty of a socialist paper to propose necessary changes.

—Leon Blum
Plantation, Fla.

FAITH

I READ *IN THESE TIMES* WITH THE greatest interest, and I am delighted that the financial prospect is improving. I enclose a check for \$100 as an indication of my faith in your enterprise.

—John Kenneth Galbraith
Cambridge, Mass.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN ISRAEL

WE, MEMBERS OF THE "NEGEV Group for Human Rights," appeal to you about a matter of deep concern.

Those among us, who came to Israel from the diaspora, came with the hope that never again would we suffer from discrimination and injustice. We did not believe that our people, to whom justice was always one of the most important values, would ever cause discrimination to another minority.

As a part of reorganization following the peace agreement with Egypt, our government decided to expropriate 82,000 dunams (20,300 acres approx.) to construct a third air base in the Negev. The site, called Tel el Malakh, is east of Beer-Sheva. In this area live about 8,000 Bedouins, Israeli citizens, in a non-nomadic way of life. They have been living there as farmers for generations.

To make the process of expropriation "easier," the Knesset voted on Aug. 7 a law unacceptable in any democratic country.

The law is called "Law of Land Ac-

Continued on facing page.



BEHIND THE LINES

In These Times readers come through in a pinch

In early June, we began one of the most important fundraising drives in our three-and-one-half year history. Our immediate goal was to raise a minimum of \$50,000 to prevent *In These Times* from becoming another victim of the recession. Since our drive began, we have received more than 800 contributions totaling \$45,500 and pledges totaling an additional \$50,000 for 1981, thus insuring that the newspaper will continue publication.

There was irony in the events that precipitated this emergency fundraising drive. 1980 has been our most successful year administratively and politically. Through the work of a more experienced business staff, we have been living well within our budget, which projects a \$90,000 reduction in our operating deficit. Most of our outstanding loans have been repaid, advertising and typesetting income have shown significant increases and our circulation has continued to grow among a diverse left constituency. Our fundraising activities have also been successful. They brought in \$150,000 in cash or pledges by the end of May.

Despite these advances, the newspaper remains in a tenuous position. While we are generating the revenue necessary to continue publication, we do not have the luxury of reserve capital against unforeseen expenses or changes in the economy. When the Fed-



eral Reserve tightened credit, most of our major suppliers began demanding payment in 30 days or less. Because most of these suppliers had been paid on a 90-120-day basis, we were forced to bring our accounts up-to-date—or lose the suppliers we absolutely need to print and distribute the paper. These expenses, plus increases in postal and printing costs and expenditures of over \$24,000 for our July direct mail campaign, left us with a cash shortfall of \$50,000.

We decided in early June to raise the needed money without sending a fundraising appeal to all of our readers. Instead, we asked some 130 former or potential donors to pledge a specific amount to a Publishers' Fund for 1980 and for 1981 and 1982. Our purpose was to develop a pool of committed funds that would enable long-range planning and, depending on the total amount pledged, decrease the need for emergency appeals that place pressure

on staff and readers alike. As of July 1, we had received more than 30 contributions or pledges totaling \$28,000, and almost as much for 1981 and 1982. Although these results were encouraging and indicated the potential for further contributions, we were still short of the needed \$50,000. This left us with no other choice but to send a general appeal to all of our subscribers. By Aug. 6, almost 800 readers had contributed \$17,500. This brought our total fundraising income for June and July to \$45,500.

With your help, *In These Times* has managed to weather a very serious financial storm. We thank you for your confidence and support. Our fundraising activities must continue if we are to meet our projected 1980 expenses (if you have not responded to our appeal we still need your help), and we still don't have the financial cushion that could insulate us from unforeseen expenses or enable us to improve our coverage. But, we continue to be optimistic about our future.

In the months ahead we will also be considering several alternatives that might improve our financial condition—in particular, raising our subscription prices and switching from weekly to bi-weekly publication. In a future issue we'll discuss some of these alternatives and invite you to send us your opinions. ■

LETTERS

Continued from previous page.

quisition in the Negev—Peace Agreement with Egypt—1980” and it rules:

•A Bedouin cannot appeal to any court of justice against the confiscation of his land.

•A Bedouin cannot appeal to any court of justice against being driven from his land by force.

•All pending lawsuits about land claims in the area of the expropriation are cancelled with the passing of this law.

•The compensation determined by the law will leave the Bedouin, in certain cases, owing money to the State after they have been evacuated from their land.

•A family that owns less than 100 dunams (25 acres) will not be given any agricultural land in replacement, but may move to a two-dunam plot in a special township for the Bedouin, or receive a compensation in money only.

In Pithat Rafiah, there are a few thousand Jewish citizens who settled there after 1967 and must now leave the area due to the peace agreement with Egypt. The government of Israel is negotiating with them and reaching agreements about compensation without resorting to a special law.

This law is part of a consistent policy of all governments of Israel against the Bedouin.

In the days of Military Rule (1950-1966), most of the Bedouin tribes of the northern and central Negev were driven out to a closed area in the eastern Negev. On their land were built Jewish agricultural settlements, army bases; part of it was left unsettled.

September 1965, the Israeli government decided to concentrate the 40,000 Bedouin of Negev in a number of townships, without agricultural land, water for agriculture or other means of production.

With the end of the Military Government, the Bedouin began demanding to return to their lands or to establish agricultural settlements, but their requests did not even receive a formal answer. The “Bedouin Law of 1980” dispos-

sesses the last of the Bedouin from their land, and completes the process of changing by force the Bedouin from farmers to city dwellers, hired labor, a cheap labor force.

We know that the government of Israel considers the opinion of the Jewish public in the world. Therefore, we appeal to you to protest against these actions and use your influence to create a positive and just attitude toward the Bedouin and all minorities in Israel.

—Dov Callor, Ruth Elath, Dr. Eylon Folkov
Jenny Greenberg, Pinhas Hazan,
Moshe Sadot, Dr. Ourl Strauss,
Aliza Heymann, chair of the
New Group for Human Rights

MOST RELIABLE

ENCLOSED PLEASE FIND A CHEQUE for \$50.00 (Canadian) and a pledge to be a sustainer of *In These Times* at \$15 per month.

In These Times is the best, most reliable newspaper available to us in North America today. Last year at this time I began work as a research assistant to Margaret Mitchell, the New Democrat member of Parliament then responsible for immigration issues. As you will recall, the Indo-Chinese crisis was in full swing and, as sensational news, demanded an informed, immediate response. *In These Times* was the first publication to give us the clear, unhysterical kind of analysis we needed to respond to the whole issue immediately.

As a subscriber since that time, I have been impressed, more recently, by your treatment of the communications issue, specifically television. We are particularly interested in this issue here in Canada because we are now debating the legislation of Canadian content—and the cultural implications of doing so.

I hope that Canadians and Americans will come across with the support to keep you in print.

—Patricia Wudel
Ottawa

A NEEDED ALTERNATIVE

IT IS WITH SUCH SORROW THAT I HEAR of your plight. Your financial situation hits home especially hard since I ex-

perienced a very similar situation as an employee and business manager of the now defunct *Madison Press Connection*.

We also had a cash flow deficit that, although never reconciled, was not the sole contributing factor to the demise of the paper. I hope with a strong united effort and the needed capital *In These Times* can continue to provide a much-needed alternative to the corporate-dominated press. Keep up the good work!

—David Shepard
Madison, Wisc.

NOT RENEGADES

I AM A MEMBER OF THE CITIZENS PARTY because I believe that it can become the political vehicle where all the dissenters, all the disenchanted and disfranchised, can come together in one movement to defeat the Establishment, bring the corporations under the rule of law and restore the citizen to a position of preponderance within a developmental economic context.

No orthodox by-the-book socialist party can do that and no Marxist-Leninist dictatorship has ever done that because orthodoxy and the dictatorial

mind are manifestations of a spiritual mediocrity incapable of understanding and carrying out a revolution the likes of which has never been seen on earth since the beginning of agriculture.

The members of the Citizens Party must convince the American people that we are not renegades and that it is alright to challenge the rule of corporations over our daily lives.

—Arthur F. Liebrez
Corte Madera, Calif.

PERFECT GEM

JOHN JUDIS' ARTICLE ENTITLED “DEL-Jegates satirize themselves” (*ITT*, July 30) was a perfect gem. It is doubtful that a more pithy characterization of the Republican Party could have been provided than his interview with Marilyn Gay.

—Paul Ginge
Chicago

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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IN DEPTH

Vietnam invades to halt infiltration

By Jayne Werner

THE FIGHTING ALONG THE THAI-KAMPUCHEAN BORDER in June was perplexing to many observers, coming as it did on the eve of a major diplomatic conference of the foreign ministers of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries (held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, June 25-26). The Thai government claimed it was a premeditated attack. Some reports described the fighting as a "border war" (such as occurred between Kampuchea and Vietnam in 1977-78). Others called the Vietnamese action an invasion

or an incursion. Interpretations also have suggested that Vietnam invaded Thailand to test Thai defensive capabilities and ASEAN's reaction as part of a long-term plan to take over Southeast Asia. The U.S. rushed military supplies to Thailand to help the Thais defend themselves.

The border crisis also appears to be a weathervane in shifting diplomatic moves among the Soviet Union, China, and the U.S., and as such its importance should not be underrated.

I visited Southeast Asia in late May, and spent a month in Vietnam, both north and south. I also travelled by car to Kampuchea from Ho Chi Minh City.

The most prevalent interpretation of the June 23 border attack is that Vietnam wanted to teach Thailand a "lesson" (as China taught Vietnam a lesson in 1979) and show its displeasure with the unfriendly diplomatic posture the Thais have adopted toward Vietnam. Vietnam sees Thailand as the main obstacle to ASEAN acceptance of the status quo in Kampuchea. The Thai government has been committed to an anti-Vietnam, pro-Pol Pot stance, mainly because it has been unable to project its influence in Kampuchea, which it has done historically. The aim of uniting ASEAN against Vietnam was furthered at the Ministers Conference in June. Malaysia and Indonesia, who in recent months were leaning in the direction of defining China as the main threat to peace in Southeast Asia and accepting the Vietnamese presence in Kampuchea, quickly realigned themselves solidly behind Thailand as a result of the border fighting. The ASEAN foreign ministers issued a joint statement strongly condemning aggression in Thailand and continued Vietnamese domination of Kampuchea.

For Thailand, the border incident has had four payoffs: (1) it has kept ASEAN within the Thai fold, at least for the mo-

ment; (2) it has enabled the Thais to procure increased military supplies from the U.S., which in turn has strengthened American commitment to Thailand; (3) the pro-military and anti-Vietnam forces in Thailand have put pro-Vietnam rapprochement forces on the defensive; (4) the border incident has strengthened the hand of those who support the seating of the Pol Pot regime in the United Nations. During the upcoming General Assembly meeting in October, the continued seating of the regime as the legitimate government of Kampuchea will be reconsidered. Vietnam had hoped to change the united stand of ASEAN on this, but their hopes were dashed at the recent Ministers Conference. Also Vietnam hopes to persuade

der, was invaded and occupied. Non Mak Moon is north of the key border town of Aranyaprathet. This is dense jungle territory, where border demarcations are obscure. Cross-border operations by both sides occur frequently here and farther south. Hundreds of thousands of Khmer refugees have straddled this border area.

Another area raided by the Vietnamese was Nong Chan, on the border itself, where refugees have been subject to the influence of anti-Communist Khmer Serei ("Free Khmer") and pro-Sihanouk forces. Nong Chan is also the site of the so-called "land bridge" of relief supplies into Kampuchea, which was not cut off on the Kampuchean side, although the Vietnamese could have done so long ago. This is despite the fact that a flourishing black market trade exists here, which in part sustains Free Khmer guerrillas. The Khmer Rouge are not numerous in this area—they are concentrated farther south.

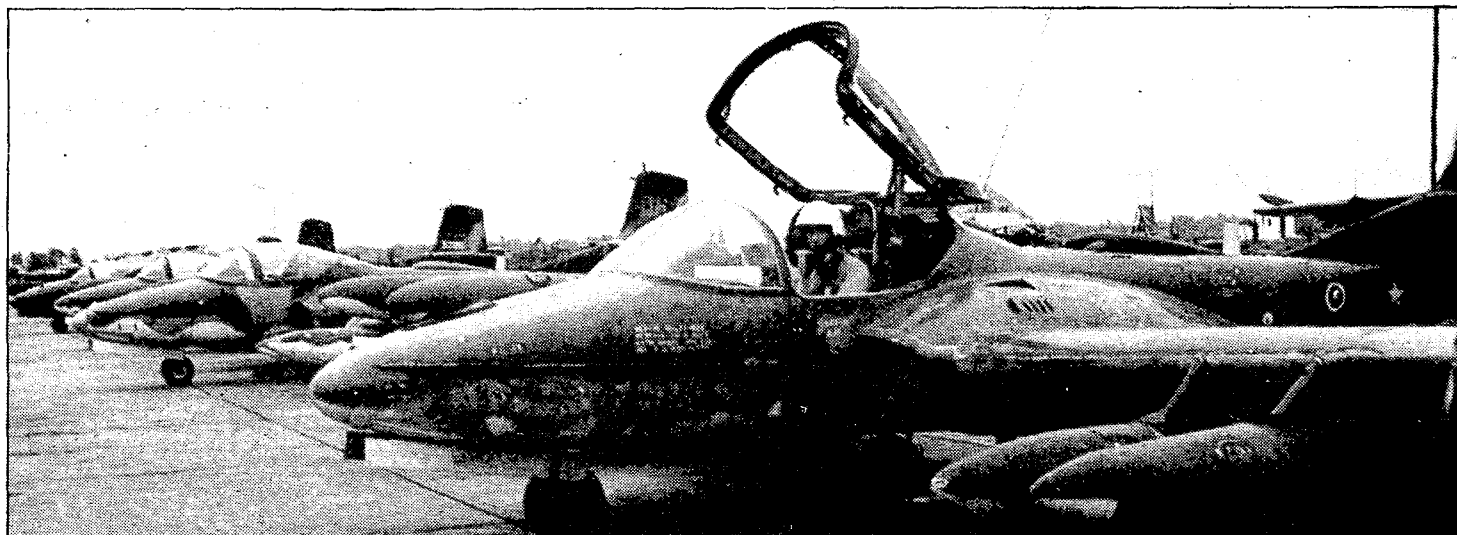
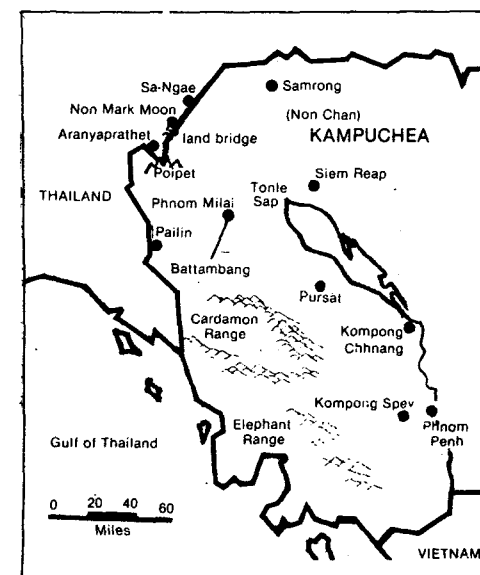
The Vietnamese invasion was motivated, in the first instance, by a desire to disperse the Khmer Serei, to close the land bridge, and with it international supplies coming into Kampuchea over the border, and to contain black market racketeering. The Khmer riel was introduced in Phnom Penh in April and its stability depends on curtailing black market trade.

But more than this, the Vietnamese attack was a tactic to divert Thai troops, concentrated along the southern border, to the north. The main object of Vietnamese attack is further south—Phnom Malai, the main base camp of the Khmer Rouge. June marks the beginning of the rainy season in Kampuchea, and with it an annual offensive on the part of the Pol Pot forces against the Vietnamese-installed Heng Samrin government. (The guerrillas are more mobile in the rain and protected by denser jungle cover.) The Khmer Rouge has enjoyed safe haven in Thailand during the dry season, and enters Kampuchea with the rainy season.

days before it convened. Now Thailand is left holding the bag. The repatriation program has been halted, and Thailand still has 140,000 Khmer refugees on its hands. Furthermore, the border between Kampuchea and Thailand is now sealed.

While visiting Vietnam in June, I could not help notice the outrage felt by many Vietnamese against the Thai repatriation policy. In an interview with Phan Hien, Vietnam's deputy foreign minister, I was also told, "Thailand's present stance is war-like." Its support of Pol Pot is aimed at unseating the Heng Samrin government. For this reason, Phan Hien stated, it is unlikely that Vietnam will soon withdraw its troops from Kampuchea. As long as the China-aided Khmer Rouge is in a position to reverse the situation in Phnom Penh, Vietnam will stay put.

The border attack is thus part of the current Vietnamese drive to destroy Khmer Rouge military capability during this rainy season. This season will test the stability of the Heng Samrin government. If the Khmer Rouge are unable to make substantial gains, the likelihood of Phnom Penh's survival will be enhanced. While in southern Kampuchea, I no-



Vietnamese pilots in American A-37 fighters, captured in South Vietnam.

other third world governments to change their vote, which could tip the balance in the UN. This now seems less likely.

It is now clear that the Vietnamese knew their attack violated Thai territory. Some said more than 2,000 Vietnamese troops were involved, but the most prevalent figure cited was 200 troops, or a company of men. A Thai village, Non Mak Moon, one kilometer from the bor-

The issue of the repatriation of Khmer refugees to Kampuchea is another reason for the attack. There are an estimated 150,000 refugees inside Thailand, whom the Thais would like to repatriate back to Kampuchea. In February, the Heng Samrin government said it was prepared to accept the refugees, on condition that Thailand hold negotiations on the matter. The Thais refused because they do not recognize Heng Samrin.

In early June, with the assistance of the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the Thai army escorted about 9,000 refugees, many of them armed Pol Pot guerrillas, across the Kampuchean border, according to the Vietnamese. (The arms may have been furnished by the Chinese, who have been funneling military equipment to the Khmer Rouge with the cooperation of Thai officials.) It is also no secret that UN relief supplies in refugee camps controlled by the Khmer Rouge go directly to the troops, and not to civilians. The International Red Cross has repeatedly complained about this situation. On July 8 it permanently discontinued sending food to Khmer Rouge refugee areas.

It was no accident that unconsulted repatriation began the week before the Foreign Ministers Conference, when Hanoi could be expected to be wooing ASEAN. But Vietnam apparently decided the refugees were more important than the conference, and struck two

ticed a growing sense that life is "returning to normal" under Heng Samrin. The food situation is not yet solved, but the international relief agencies in Phnom Penh generally concur that emergency supplies of rice seed will ensure an adequate harvest this fall. Officials in Phnom Penh insist there is and will be no famine, although they admit that there is a food shortage in some rural regions. The thousands of rag-tag refugees along the roads trekking back to their former villages in the east and south look like they have just emerged from the Black Death.

The border attack on Thailand took place for five reasons: (1) to divert the Thai army, for tactical purposes, in case the Thais provided military support for the Khmer Rouge further south, as the Vietnamese prepare their attack against the Pol Pot forces; (2) to stop the voluntary repatriation of Khmer refugees; (3) to signal to the Thais that the refugee issue will no longer be used to gain legitimacy of the Heng Samrin government; (4) to signal to the Thais that the Vietnamese will stage their operations up to the border, and will no longer stay farther back, and (5) to demonstrate to the Thais that the Vietnamese army is not to be fooled with. The violation of Thai territory on June 23-26 appears to have made these points.

Jayne Werner visited Vietnam to set up a U.S.-Vietnam Social Sciences exchange program.

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PERSPECTIVES

Convention will pose issue of black survival

By Manning Marable

MORE THAN ONE THOUSAND BLACK POLITICAL ACTIVISTS, community organizers and black nationalists will meet in New Orleans Aug. 21-24 at the 1980 Convention of the National Black Political Assembly. The meeting will include three dozen workshops on socioeconomic and political issues, from the development of cooperatives to criminal justice and police brutality within the black community. The highpoint of the convention will be a debate on program development and the formation of an independent black political party.

Prominent participants in the convention will include black educator Barbara Sizemore; political activist/theorists James Turner, Ronald Daniels, Ronald Walters and Mtangulizi Sanyika; rural economic organizers Makaza Kumanyika and the Reverend A.J. McKnight; and national black religious leader Louis Farrakhan.

The current National Black Political Assembly is the product of the Black Power and Pan-Africanist movements that dominated black politics a decade ago. Launched at the historic March 10-11, 1972, Black Political Convention held at Gary, Ind., the NBPA initially attracted such mainstream black spokespersons as Operation PUSH's Jesse Jackson, Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson, and Coretta King. Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher, Rep. Charles Diggs and avant-garde black nationalist Imamu Amiri Baraka served as co-convenors. The manifesto produced at Gary, the Black Agenda, remains one of the most progressive documents written in the name of black America. In its initial years, the NBPA helped elect progressive black state legislators and local officials, organized educational and political activities at the community level, and became the central national forum for political debate among black nationalists and the "radicalized" black middle class. Two major national conventions were held following Gary, at Little Rock in 1974 and at Cincinnati in 1976.

By the mid-'70s, the NBPA experienced a decline in membership and commitment, not unlike other left organizations. Most black elected officials abandoned the convention movement when the NBPA opposed school busing for desegregation, and raised the idea of an all-black Independent Freedom Party outside the controls of mainstream, white-dominated politics. Intense debates between black Marxist-Leninists and black nationalists between 1973 and 1976 also provoked the disintegration of local and state assemblies that were committed to an electoral political agenda. The NBPA was unable to implement its "1976 Strategy" for running a black independent candidate for the presidency, and by 1977 had suffered a serious loss of support from even its most activist followers. Between 1978 and the present, under the leadership of national chair Ron Daniels, co-chair Mashariki Kurudisha and Mtangulizi Sanyika, director of Political and Organizational Development, the NBPA has gradually rebuilt in Louisiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania and a dozen other states. The 1980 convention in New Orleans marks the organization's emergence as a force within contemporary U.S. and black politics.

A long history.

The immediate activities of the NBPA obscured the fact that the history of the black convention movement is 150 years

old. The heritage of the modern NBPA goes back to a five-day meeting of free blacks in Philadelphia Sept. 20-24, 1830. Between two and three dozen black leaders, representing five free states and two slave states, met in A.M.E. Bishop Richard Allen's Bethel Church to survey the needs and problems facing black Americans.

Three years before, Samuel E. Cornish, editor of the country's first black newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, suggested that a series of black conventions should be held to improve the status of Northern blacks. White abolitionists were initially supportive of the call for black conventions, and during the first meetings assumed an active role in setting their agendas. Within several years, however, black delegates concluded that bi-racial participation did little to help meet the specific issues confronting blacks.

Educated and politicized in a racist society, white abolitionists insulted blacks by demanding a major role in all matters of public policy. Recognizing their dilemma, William Hamilton, president of the 1834 convention, stated that "under present conditions, it is highly necessary [that] the free people of color should combine, and closely attend to their own particular needs" without white supervision.

The first conventions in the 1830s and early 1840s were modest affairs, usually involving no more than 70 delegates. The political programs issued by these conventions mirrored the demands made by the Chartist Movement in England and by the more radical working-class Jacksonians—universal manhood suffrage, the abolition of all property restrictions on voting, and public education. Blacks attending the meetings were representative of the fragile black artisan elite that prospered in most major Northern cities in the antebellum era. As a result, their demands tended to be accommodationist in tone and reformist in content—temperance, support for black-owned and operated schools and libraries, economic self-help within entrepreneurial capitalism, and a rejection of territorial separatism for blacks. In this regard, the early conventions established the ideological tenets for black educator Booker T. Washington, at the beginning of the 20th century.

As the crisis of slavery dominated American politics in the 1840s and 1850s, the black convention movement began to move toward a more militantly nationalist and separatist posture. The chief spokesman for the integrationists, *North Star* editor and abolitionist Frederick Douglass, deplored the nationalists' demands to establish a black militia and calls for complete racial separatism.

At the Buffalo convention of 1842, black militant Henry Highland Garnet called on Northern blacks to support slave uprisings. In an emotional appeal, Garnet declared: "Brethren, arise! Strike

for your lives and liberties. Rather die freemen than live to be slaves."

Led by Douglass, the moderates managed to defeat the fiery resolution by a single vote. By the 1850s, however, nationalist spokesmen like Garnet and Dr. Martin Delany had become the dominant forces in the convention movement. The Cleveland convention of 1854 even recommended a policy of voluntary emigration of blacks to either the Caribbean, Canada or West Africa as the best solution to the race question in the U.S.

Reconstruction.

The tradition of black conventions continued after the Civil War. Unlike the earlier meetings, these conventions were concerned with halting the rising tide of white reaction against the gains of black Reconstruction. The major convention during this time, held in Washington, D.C., in December 1873, concentrated on civil rights questions, the enforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, the suppression of the Ku Klux Klan and the proliferation of white violence against Southern blacks.

After the compromise of 1877, which marked the beginning of the decline in black civil and social rights for the next eight decades, convention programs began to stress racial self-sufficiency and economic development. The national convention of 1883, held at Louisville, advocated the abolition of the Southern sharecropping system and the creation of black public schools. State conventions of local black businessmen and

equally certain that this economic problem could not be approached from the point of view solely of race."

Between the Great Depression and the decline of the modern civil rights movement, no major independent black conventions occurred. It was only after the emergence of the politics of Black Power, the popularity of the ideas of Malcolm X and the disintegration of the integrationist-oriented black leadership within black politics had become commonly perceived at a mass level that an independent black strategy for struggle could challenge the NAACP-Urban League for hegemony.

The new black nationalists and militant community leaders of the '60s could not, for philosophical, historical and cultural reasons, identify their goals within the integrationist movement. For this reason, the convention movement was revived in the creation of the NBPA.

It is ironic that the central points of discussion at this month's convention are nearly identical to the concerns raised at meetings held in the 19th century. Police brutality, the rise of the KKK and the lack of human rights for blacks are as relevant today as they were to Frederick Douglass in 1870. The crisis of black unemployment and relative political powerlessness was an item in the convention agendas of both 1883 and 1980.

In the words of this year's "Call to Convention," issued by the executive committee of the NBPA, "in the historic past, the forward progress of the race has always depended upon the willing-



Educators Booker T. Washington and Mry Bethune at Tuskegee. Some of Washington's ideas are contained in the NBPA's current aims.

politicians were also held in South Carolina, Arkansas and Texas that year. In 1890 black newspaper editor T. Thomas Fortune established the Afro-American League at the Chicago convention of January 1890, a coalition of several hundred black leaders.

In many respects, the League was the precursor to the modern civil rights and black economic development organizations created after 1900—Booker T. Washington's National Negro Business League (1900), W.E.B. DuBois' National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (1910), and the National Urban League (1911).

By the 1920s, the convention movement had temporarily ceased to exist. Part of the reason was the success of both the integrationist-oriented formations like the NAACP and the creation of newer black nationalist organizations like Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association. Garvey, trade union socialist A. Phillip Randolph, the Communist Party and the AFL of William Green were all aggressively competing for the allegiance of the burgeoning black urban working class.

Attempts by black intellectuals to call together new conventions that might represent the total scope of black political life—notably the Sanhedrin Conference of 1923, initiated by Howard University dean Kelly Miller, and the Amenias, N.Y., conferences of 1916 and 1933 of W.E.B. DuBois—met with indifferent results. After the second Amenias conference, a disappointed DuBois wrote in his autobiography, "We were mentally whirling in a sea of inconclusive world discussion. It was agreed that the primary problem before us was economic, but it was

ness of men and women of principle and conscience to pose very sharply...the essential question of black survival." The major problems "in the black community are not created by black people in the main, but by the nature of capitalism and the way it functions to allocate jobs and income and other economic opportunities."

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Travel By Helen

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By Gerald Peary

The influx of Cuban refugees to America includes several baseball players whom the major leagues are eager to court. A few months ago, Gerald Peary was in Cuba, where he was reunited with one of the first Cubans to play baseball in this country, back in the '50s. Unlike younger, avidly anti-Castro players, Conrado Marrero remains contentedly in his homeland.

MIRACULOUSLY, HE HAD been listed in the Havana telephone directory, and, when called, agreed to come meet us. A taxi pulled up in front of the Hotel Nacional, where we were guests, and out stepped a squat white-haired man with a bull neck and a patterned acetate shirt, a jacket slung over his shoulder, and a Cuban stogy stuck in the corner of his mouth. Conrado Marrero, the 68-year-old Havana resident and one-time ace pitcher for the Washington Senators (1950-1954) swaggered into the hotel lobby.

He would never recall the first time we met. It was in the spring of 1954, when the big-league teams broke Florida camp

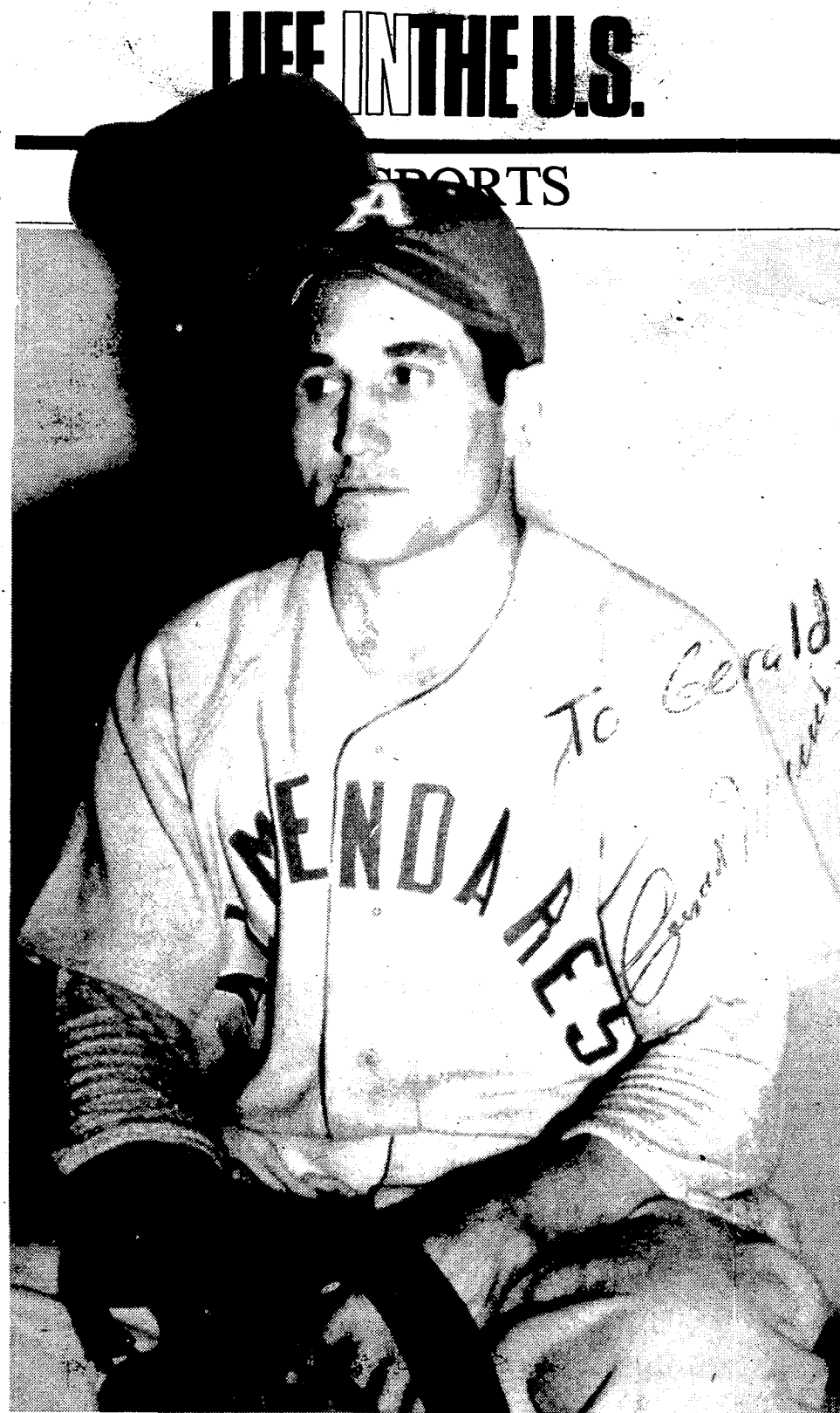
'Sometimes Satchel Paige won —sometimes I did,' recalled the retired pitcher.

and bussed slowly north. They would stop and suit up along the way for games, including a single exhibition contest each year in Columbia, South Carolina. At this particular one, a very excited nine-year-old stood by the first-base fence accumulating autographs.

I had gone through the hard-hitting Cincinnati Reds already, getting signatures from Ted Kluszewski and Johnny Temple and others, and now I sought out the Reds' rival—lowly Washington, "first in war, first in peace, and last in the American League." Sighting a pitcher I recognized warming up 50 feet away, I began yelling, "Connie! Hey, Connie! Over here!" Over walked Conrado Marrero, whom I knew well from his baseball card. And an amazing thing happened. He gave me the obligatory autograph and, touched by my enthusiasm, handed me a present: a major league Spaulding baseball. I have never forgotten his shy smile, or that kindness.

Reunion.

And now, in the Hotel Nacional lobby, we worked hard to break the ice, for Marrero obviously was puzzled, and a bit suspicious, about the telephone call to his house. The translator for the occasion, Roger L. Simon (screenwriter-author of *The Big Fix* and other acclaimed detective stories), now pointed to me and explained that I had seen Marrero play.



Marrero presented Peary with this present in Havana, 25 years after autographing a ball for the author.

The Cuban pitcher and the lifelong fan

"Where?" Marrero demanded. "Columbia, South Carolina," I answered. Marrero nodded in recognition, and we had passed a crucial test. For the first of many times, Marrero's eyes twinkled and, in rasping, colloquial Spanish, he began the story of his long baseball career. He rattled off the events of his life in staccato sentences, jumping backward and forward in a chronology every bit as convoluted and compressed as that in a Gabriel Garcia Marquez novel.

"I was born in 1911, on April 25," Marrero announced, proud that he is an old man and still a strong one. He had been a sugar cane cutter before he became a ballplayer, working six long days a week in the provinces in order to play Havana pickup games on Sundays with his *companeros*. Yet Marrero acquired a reputation based on his once-a-week amateur pitching schedule. In Havana, nobody was better. He had a fancy curve, an effective slider, and perfect control. Had a coach taught him? Marrero wagged his finger. "No," he said, and pointed to his brain. "I taught myself."

By 1938, he was a 27-year-old pitcher at the peak of his talent. But where were the major leagues? They were as uninterested in Cuban ballplayers as in black ones. After 10 more years as a non-professional, a Mexican team sent someone to get him and, at age 36, Marrero turned professional and journeyed to Mexico in 1947 to pitch in the minor leagues. By then, Conrado Marrero could even find a big-league role model: Roberto Ortiz (who died in 1971 in Miami Beach), a six-foot-four-inch 200-pounder who served as a utility outfielder for the Washington Senators from 1944 to 1950.

At that time, teams were first beginning to hire black players: Jackie Robinson and Don Newcombe and Joe Black on the Brooklyn Dodgers; Willie Mays and Hank Thompson on the New York Giants; George Crowe and Sam Jethro on the Boston Braves; in the American League, Luke Easter and Larry Doby on the Cleveland Indians. The Washington

Senators instead brought up Cubans. Back in Havana for winter ball, Marrero was signed by scout Joe Cambria for the Senators and, in 1950, Conrado Marrero became a rookie pitcher in the American League at age 39.

Marrero was laconic about his five major-league seasons, but this is what we gathered: that "Mr. Griffith, owner of the Senators, was a friend of mine" and that "the manager, Bucky Harris, talked to me a lot," and that, though he was one of only a few Spanish speakers, "I felt fine. I spent time with my buddies." His only discomfort, a slight one, was over the shortening of his first name to "Conrad" and then "Connie" as a convenience for American fans.

But why complain? Marrero was a big-league pitcher at last, helping the Senators stay competitive with the St. Louis Browns and Philadelphia Athletics at the bottom of the American League. His best season was 1952, when he was 11-8 as a 41-year-old starter, with a 2.83 ERA. Marrero's success with Washington was celebrated throughout baseball-crazy Cuba. And in winter, he would return home and pitch some more.

In all, Conrado Marrero accumulated more than 400 victories in a career uncatalogued and almost unknown in the U.S. What if Marrero had been summoned to the major leagues at a normal age, 18 or 20 strong pitching years earlier?

The big-league records show that Marrero won 39 games and lost 40, totals not unlike those of Satchel Paige (28-31), who passed decades of stardom in Negro League ball. Marrero matched arms against Paige on more than a few occasions, both in the majors and minors. "Sometimes he won, sometimes I did," Marrero said.

Marrero's approval of the Washington organization encouraged a youngster from Cuba, Camilio Pasqual, to sign on with the Senators. They roomed together when the future-great Pasqual was a raw rookie and Marrero, old enough to be Camilio's father, was demoted, in middle-age, to the bullpen. Conrado Marrero was released in 1955, at age 44. While he returned home to live with his family in Havana, other Cuban ballplayers were just leaving home for the U.S.: Pedro Ramos, Tony Taylor, Chico Cardenas, Luis Tiant, Tony Oliva, and many more.

But Marrero still had a few pitches left in his throwing arm, especially since he had added the knuckleball to his repertoire. He played winter ball in Nicaragua until he was 47 and then, in 1958, he got a front-office job with the Triple A Havana Kings and also worked as a scout for the Boston Red Sox.

"I was a scout for two more years after the Revolution," Marrero continued, now without prodding. "I signed three Cubans, but they only made it to the minor leagues. Relations with the United States broke down, and it was over. After the U.S. embargo, I worked teaching children baseball."

Today, Conrado Marrero remains on call for the Castro government. He shows young players how to pitch. He is a celebrity goodwill ambassador (the hotel maitre d' pumped Conrado's hand as if this were Fidel himself), but also a serious worker in the Cuban Ministry of Sports. "In Cuba, players are better now than before the Revolution, because there are so many participants in amateur ball," he said, approving of the government's ban on professional sports.

Has Marrero ever regretted his decision to leave the U.S.? "Yo soy Cubano, I am Cuban," he answered, shrugging his shoulders.

At last it was time to explain my sentimental reason for tracking Marrero down. I told him what happened at that exhibition game against Cincinnati. Sitting there in Havana, I shook Marrero's hand and thanked him for spring 1954.

Soon after, he pushed toward me the photograph of a handsome young Conrado early in his baseball career. He asked that I write my name on it, and then the ex-sugar cane cutter penned his signature. "Mucas gracias," I said. "Every 25 years, you give me a present." ■

Gerald Peary is a staff writer for the Boston Real Press, where this article first appeared.

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AMERICAN FILM

Life is a carnival—
not a mechanical bullGary Busey and Robbie Robertson are best buddies in *CARNY*.

By Pat Aufderheide

This summer a flurry of movies lifted plots, characters and events from newspaper headlines, magazine articles and true stories. You could go shopping from American subculture to subculture.

Among other things, the tendency was testimony to a healthy public curiosity about American mores. That curiosity was

**See! Freaks
on their
coffee break!
Learn! How
they con
the marks!
Go to *CARNY*!**

only satisfied, however, to the extent that filmmakers could free themselves from knee-jerk movie convention.

Carny was the prize in the box of crackerjacks, although it was so poorly distributed that most people couldn't find it before it was yanked out of the theaters.

Sneaking past every cliché, every attempt to reduce the film to another buddy film, *Carny* introduced us to the vanishing world of the carnival from the inside.

Frankie (Gary Busey) plays the carnival's "bozo," a man who sits inside a cage insulting carnival goers—"marks"—into paying to throw balls at a lever plunging him into cold water. Patch (Robbie Robertson), his best friend and roommate, is the carnival's business manager and fixer. Jodie Foster plays the girl who joins the carnies. First romancing Frankie, then sleeping with Patch as well, she settles into her job attracting lesbian "marks" at a carnies booth and transforms herself from mark to carnies member.

The film is as offbeat as carnies life is. It should be—the people who made it (for what is becoming peanuts—\$6 million) know and live in a similar scene.

Director Robert Kaylor is a documentary filmmaker long fascinated with the carnies world. After his award-winning film on the roller derby, *Derby* (1971), he taped interviews with dozens of carnies people, and planned a documentary film following two veterans around the circuit on their last season. When funding died, he wrote, with novelist Thomas Baum, a feature script.

Executive producer Jonathan Taplin and producer Robbie

Robertson have grown up in a different kind of traveling road show. Both are veterans of The Band—Taplin as road manager, Robertson as lead guitarist and chief composer. Further, Robertson worked as a carnies hustler when he was a kid.

The film succeeds not because of the subject but because its view of it is from the inside. The film unapologetically enters the life of these modern gypsies, rather than gushily demonstrating their humanity in spite of their lifestyle. The freaks, the angry man, the con artist who doesn't know when to quit—the movie never stoops to explain or justify a way of life, a separate morality. It only explains arcane parts of the carnies world so that we can join it too. It shows, for instance, how the "joints" (booths) cheat customers, and how bribes bypass local ordinances and deal in local grafters. It explains the marriage rites—celebrated for a year's liaison, with a raucous ride on a merry-go-round—of this transient group.

These moments are not "color." They give precise information on working conditions, on traditions, on skills, all of which go to define not only daily life but the type of character most likely to succeed in that world. That attention to detail steers *Carny* away from stereotyping.

The film has confidence in its subject, and shares its character. The dialog is, Altman-like, full of half sentences and non-sequiturs, inviting us to read a situation through hints and references rather than telegraphing the meaning.

The film is also full of set-ups. It cons the audience as if we were marks—and it does so with the same good humor that the carnies people do. Girl sleeps with lover's best friend—and lover doesn't say anything. Mobster ties girl up for sadistic orgy—and she gets away. The joke has two aspects: the pleasure of escape from clichéd movie gore, and the joke of life's little anticlimaxes being acted out in melodramatic circumstances.

Like another summer pleasure, *Fame* (about talented youngsters in the New York Performing Arts high school), *Carny* captures the grit of daily life while capitalizing on the romance of show business. Its success is not in its familiar buddy theme, any more than *Fame's* special warmth comes from its sentimental episodic plot. Rather it succeeds when its characters, defined through an idiosyncratic situation, become subjects, not objects of a film's analysis.

In *Carny* even the world's fattest man is an actor in, not a victim of his peculiar life. Behind the tawdry carnival facade, behind the illusion, there's a reality.

Workers on display.

The charm of *Carny* is the flip side of the contempt of *Urban Cowboy*. That film was made from an *Esquire* article archly peeking at Saturday night life in Texas oil country. Rather than entering the lives lived by a frontier proletariat—the oil workers—it spiffs up the working class in dude outfits and puts it on display for our mocking amusement. The low point for me was when John Travolta—"Bud"—explained to his rich girlfriend that working people have feelings too. But everyone will have their own moment of revulsion.

It's a penthouse view of the working class, a zoological survey of their mating rituals, a backgrounder in the newest set of fashion fads. *Urban Cowboy*—the article as much as the movie—takes an understandable urge to know about an aspect of

American life and transforms it into a marketable object.

It retails things—the hat, the bull, the beer, the boots—rather than detailing a process. The people become objects on which to hang the hardware; the bull rides the man.

Somehow it doesn't help that the movie has its moving moments. Scenes between the young married couple, confused about their roles but well-intentioned, evoke both familiar tenderness and frustrated rage. (This is as much to Debra Winger's credit as it is to Travolta's.) They reproduce the inarticulate exchanges

**Watch John
Travolta drink
beer and
wreck a
marriage!
Or better yet—
stay away!**

of everyday life without reducing the couple to fools. But all the down-home pronouncements of the characters surrounding them—especially the uncle and aunt—undercut them. Finally the film's supercilious attitude toward its subject frames and invalidates the couple's struggle for affection and security.

If the current success of Gilley's-like bars—the hats, the bull, the beers, the boots—is any guide, the movie hits a weak cultural spot. The consumerist machine is indeed hard at work transforming loneliness and alienation into dollars. But the success of the fashion only highlights the cruelty of this movie's producers, who are so coolly adept at preying on despair.

In its snide peek at working-class habits, *Urban Cowboy* is worse, because bolder in its claim to truth, than a fiction feature that doesn't poach so directly on someone's real life. And thanks to high-powered marketing, *Urban Cowboy's* bath in bad faith sells (even if not as well as Hollywood expected). *Carny*, with its quixotic authenticity, is a cult item. ■

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They can't get no satisfaction

By Don McLeese

Attempting to analyze the Rolling Stones at face value is a tricky business. For years now, healthy doses of irony and ambiguity have pervaded the work of these very white boys with the very black influences. Although some politicians might prefer their rock'n'roll messages a little more straightforward—something on the order of Tom Robinson's "If left is right then right is wrong/Better decide which side you're on" sloganeering—the Stones refuse to make it easy.

("Pleased to meet you, hope you guess my name. But what's puzzling you is the nature of my game.")

Let's start with a couple overtly political songs (or at least songs with overtly political implications) from *Beggars Banquet*, an album released 12 years ago. While "Salt of the Earth" could easily have been a hymn to the working class—and, with one or two lyric changes, has been covered as such by a couple of other artists—the key to the song actually lies in its lines of curious detachment: "And when I search the faceless crowd, a swirling mass of gray and black and white, they don't look real to me, in fact they look so strange." Coldly indifferent? Or simply a little more honest than a lot of "love of the masses" rhetoric?

A similar twist occurs in "Street Fighting Man." What starts out as a call-to-arms (and was banned as such over Chicago airwaves around the '68 Democratic convention) is soon undercut by the refrain, "But what can a poor boy do, 'cept sing for a rock'n'roll band, 'cause in sleepy London town there's just no place for a street fighting man." There may be little doubt where the song's sympathy lies, but, as in "Salt of the Earth," such resignation keeps the singer removed from the fray.

By the time of 1978's *Some Girls*, the title cut of which aroused so much ire in these pages as elsewhere, irony-tinged detachment had slid all the way over into self-parody. What struck many as the gross insensitivity of the sexual cataloguing within "Some Girls" was as significant for its lampooning of Jagger's superstar/misogynist image, exorcising his cock-rock bravura by exaggerating it beyond belief. The intentionally ludicrous line "Black girls just wanna get fucked all night, I don't have that much jam" said less about someone else's supposed proclivities than about the singer's own sexual inadequacy.

Which, once again, is a little more ambiguous and ironical than those who demand their

messages straightforward would like it. I have a feeling that those who expressed the most outrage over "Some Girls" have never felt much affinity for either rock'n'roll or the Rolling Stones in any case. I also have a feeling that Mick Jagger wasn't terribly concerned about all the wrath he provoked—nothing like a little controversy to sell a few records.

The recently released *Emotional Rescue*, an album a lot more musically varied than the rejuvenated rave-ups that dominated *Some Girls*, is even further steeped in self-parody than its predecessor. Despite what the title suggests, detachment is everywhere. It's an album of so many masks and voices—mock-Bee Gees, Rasta romantic, Buddy Holly-lit, third-world balladeer, hop-head soul-brother, gutter-

bluesman—that one eventually wonders whether there's still a unifying sensibility beneath the disparate guises. Or have the Stones reached the point where one role is as good as the next?

At this juncture, the Stones seem to have worked themselves into a corner. Although Jagger's clever enough to see through most rock'n'roll poses, he's either unwilling or unable to cut past them. Realizing that a 37-year-old man sounds a little silly singing about boy-girl dalliance ("Summer Romance," "Where the Boys Go"), that a high-rent jet-setter lack credibility on a skid-row blues ("Down in the Gutter"), that a proper Englishman sounds stilted flirting with Jamaican ("Send It to Me") or Central American ("Indian Girl") inflections, he exagger-

ates his vocal affectations to the point of absurdity, distancing himself from whatever honest emotion these songs might have possibly contained.

Musically, the Stones are as strong as ever. Although drummer Charlie Watts could do this in his sleep by now, his back-beat sounds fresher each time out, his accents perfectly to the point, pushing but never overpowering the music. Keith Richards and Ronnie Wood remain rock'n'roll's premier guitar tandem, ripping and slashing all over the tracks. The album's mix matches its music, crisp and cutting throughout.

A great *sounding* album, but to what point? At a time when artists such as the Clash, Elvis Costello, and Graham Parker are renewing rock's passion,

there seems to be little sense of purpose underlying most of *Emotional Rescue* beyond the Stones' own self-perpetuation. From romantic desperation ("She might be Ukrainian, she could be Australian, she could be the Alien—send her to me") to salvation ("I will be your knight in shining armor, coming to your emotional rescue"), it's all a sham. When the album takes a comparatively serious turn with "Indian Girl"—the poignant (and political) ballad from the Stones in years—one hesitates to trust the song's compassion after all the game-playing that has gone on.

Not until the album's final number does *Emotional Rescue* show any scars of self-revelation. With Keith Richards taking the vocal, "All About You" bristles with the sort of honesty that will most likely make it this album's center of controversy. While certain lyrics are bound to offend—"So sick and tired of hanging around with dogs like you/You're the first to get laid, always the last bitch to get paid"—Richards' world-weary tone renders his bitterness brutally believable. The album's final line—"So how come I'm still in love with you?"—is also its most moving.

"All About You" shows evidence of real heart, no matter how hate-filled. As for the rest, the problem with the Rolling Stones lies not with what they have to say. It lies with the possibility that they have nothing left to say at all.

Don McLeese is a Chicago music writer.

MOVIES

High noon for "cowboys of the skies"

By Janet Coffman

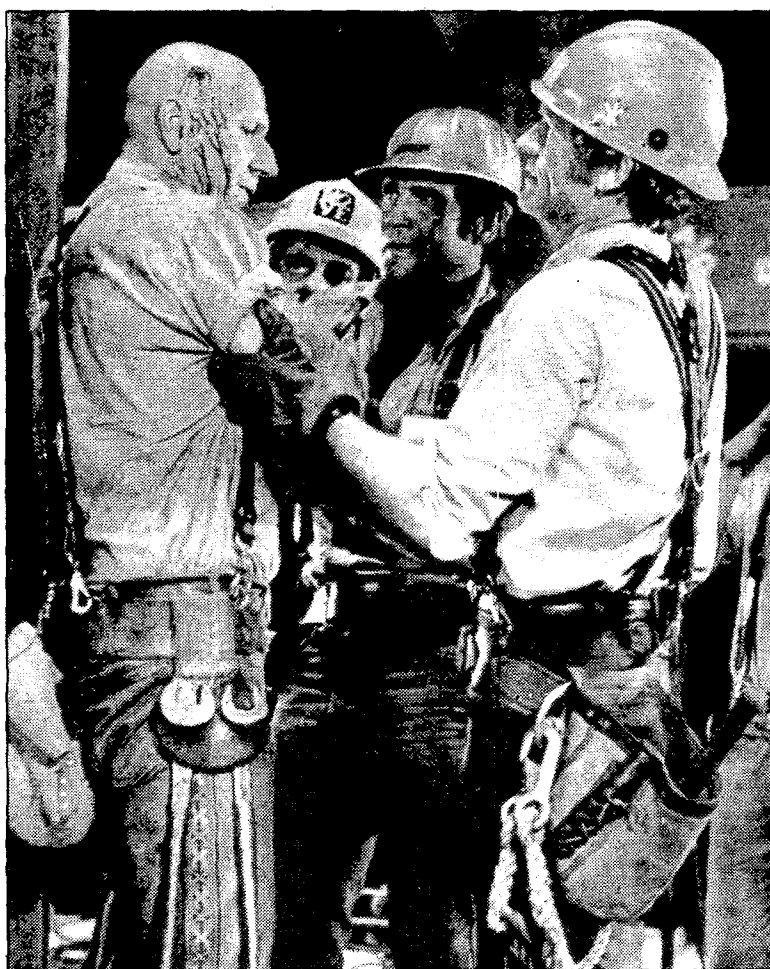
Ironworkers and film industry spokesmen express undisguised ambition for the full-length feature film, *Steel*, scheduled for release by World Northal in cities in Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky and West Virginia during the first week of August.

"If this movie is successful, children will be wearing spud-wrenches and hard hats instead of *Star Wars* hats," says William Bartman, production associate of *Steel*.

The film, based on the book, *On High Steel: the Education of an Ironworker*, written by Mike Cherry of Local 40 in New York, accurately portrays the working conditions of ironworkers, known in labor lore as the "cowboys of the skies." In it, actors Lee Majors, Jennifer O'Neill, George Kennedy, Art Carney and Local 70 of Louisville, Ky., uneasily negotiate massive steel girders, Teamsters and gravity in an aggressive competition with time and the bank. Their goal is to "top off" the tallest building in Kentucky within three weeks, thereby preventing the default of Cassco Construction.

The rapid-fire action of *Steel* breaks evenly and hinges on the shuffling of alliances, few of which are struck in heaven. Opening black and white frozen frames of workers engaging steel beams against the backdrop of an open sky are soon replaced with scenes that speak of the ultimate hazards of "laying iron."

Early in the film, Lew Cassidy (George Kennedy), the head contractor who has risen through the union ranks, dies from injur-



The Ironworkers Union endorses this action film.

ies sustained when he falls from the top floor of the incomplete structure. In what becomes the obligatory nod in the film to the shifting roles of women, daughter Cass Cassidy (Jennifer O'Neill) replaces him. She consults with ironworker business agent "Pignose" Moran (Art Carney), who, anxious that the building be completed as a monument to Lew Cassidy and the ironworkers, advises her to hire "ramrod" Mike Catton (Lee Majors) in order to construct the

remaining nine floors by deadline. Catton brings with him an advance crew so notoriously skilled that their appearance causes two ironworkers, already employed by Cassidy, to offer to work with them at half the prevailing wage.

The tension created by the bank's deadline is not only heightened by the barely friendly relationships between members of the advance crew, but is further aggravated when Teamsters, responsible for hauling the steel

to the construction site, call a wildcat strike and walk off the job.

Filmed during actual construction of Kinkaid Towers in Lexington, Ky., *Steel* provides a departure in content from the typical feature popular among studio producers. Its departure lies in its concern with the mechanics of a union shop.

While this concern prompted Columbia Pictures to can the film on its shelves for over two years, it also motivated World Northal to resurrect *Steel* with the aid of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers.

"This movie, in a different way from *Norma Rae*, presents the working man in a very positive light," says production associate Bartman. "Ironworkers live hard, they have real emotions, and their job is surrounded by danger. They're not people who get paid high wages for doing nothing. Instead, they risk being hurt and deserve the money they earn."

In agreement, the Ironworkers have invested heavily in promotion, offering pre-screening, generous press packets and direct mailings to union membership.

"*Steel* will go on the basis of an action adventure film rather than a union film. But in the meantime, audiences will be exposed to the occupational risks of the trade and the fact that ironworkers are just nice people," says Bill Lowbaugh, editor of the union publication, *The Ironworker*.

Janet Coffman is a journalist researching unions and media at the Institute for Policy Studies.

By Beth Bogart

Waving the banner of the First Amendment, public TV stations last spring showed the docudrama *Death of a Princess* despite the sputtering of the Saudi Arabian government, the whimpering of the State Department and the uneasiness of the network's top brass.

That commitment to freedom of expression, however, appears to have narrow limits when it comes to international news coverage. *Death of a Princess* was part of the *World* series, which station managers voted to discontinue at their annual bidding meeting earlier this year largely because some of the shows were "too hard-hitting and generated more controversy than most station managers are happy with," one Center for Public Broadcasting (CPB) spokesman said. The official reason for the decision was budget constraints.

Previous shows in the series, PBS' principal international programming, had generated as much controversy as *Death of a Princess*, but they were cut by the same executives who then championed the principle of an unfettered press for *Princess*.

A much-publicized charge of censorship in public television's international programs is independent producer David Koff's current suit against station WGBH in Boston and the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) for their "editing" of his documentary *Blacks Britannica*, shown in 1978.

Blacks Britannica, produced by Koff and Musindo Mwinyipembe, examined the causes of racism in Great Britain and the black resistance to oppression by the police and the state.

When filmmaker Koff refused to edit the film to meet WGBH executives' concerns about its political viewpoint and sympathetic portrayal of organized black resistance to racism, *World* executive producer David Fanning "restructured" the film, according to Koff's attorney, Lynne Bernabei.

Fanning told *Newsweek* magazine that he had edited the film because he was concerned with its "endorsement of a Marxist point of view."

Blacks Britannica, however, is just one example of public TV's narrow definition of international news issues.

"The premiere international programming, *World*, was butchered," said independent producer Allan Siegal. "What they did to *Blacks Britannica*, they did to many of the other programs," he said.

That view was corroborated by numerous filmmakers, including those who had worked for *World*, but who asked to remain anonymous because they did not want to make their chances "of ever doing a film for public television even more unlikely," in the words of one.

"The front line of censorship at PBS stations," he said, "is choosing filmmakers from a very small circle and excluding most independents with any kind of a 'political' perspective."

Public television "doesn't offer much access for independent producers," said Eli Evans, currently head of the Revson Foundation and a member of the Carnegie Commission.

"The four dirty words for public television are gay, feminist, black and Marxist," said independent film producer and ex-WNET producer Jack Willis.

Willis cited as an example his

recent efforts to get public TV to show three films with an international focus, which were "totally political so they were totally unacceptable" to station managers.

One, *O Povo Organizado*, a film about Mozambique, was selected by the Independent Film Focus' "peer panel" as an excellent documentary but was turned down by New York's WNET (*In These Times*, Feb. 6).

Another film Willis urged public television programmers to show was *Battle of Chile*, an award-winning eye-witness account of the 1973 toppling of Salvador Allende's government by a right-wing coup.

When PBS director of public affairs programming Barry Chase told a meeting of public television programming managers in 1978 that he could not air *Battle of Chile* on the network because of "problems with the language, the programming people caucused and agreed that it should be shown," according to Willis, who attended the meeting.

Chase said he would broadcast *Battle of Chile* if he received the programmers' request in writing. A letter was sent to Chase, but *Battle of Chile* has never been aired on public television.

Battle of Chile would "need a lot of work to be turned from a film into an acceptable PBS television show," Chase said. The subtitles would have to be redone for legibility, the footage shortened and the film renarrated, Chase said, "and no station seemed interested enough in doing the work."

"I could not accept the narrator," Chase said, "because he uses Marxist jargon that you forget when you leave college, making it hard to know who the players are when he talks about the 'petty bourgeoisie,' etc. In addition, it would be offensive to audiences."

Even when public TV station producers solicit films from independents, they "always have a very developed idea of exactly what they're looking for," according to Siegal.

One example is WNET's rejection of a film his company offered when the station asked for films on the Middle East. Siegal proposed one done by an Israeli about Israel. The film

PUBLIC TV

"Passive censorship" of international news



World, PBS' only regular foreign news program, has become a "big-event forum," like this *SPORTS IN CHINA* special.

was "provocative, controversial—and refused because of the filmmaker's Marxist point of view," he said.

In another case, the Washington, D.C., public station, WETA, refused to air a program called *Iranians inside the Islamic Republic*, broadcast by PBS and made by WNET in New York. WETA executives decided that the program was too "one-sided," a reason frequently used by station officials to explain their rejection of certain "controversial" programs. Yet public television spokesmen see nothing "one-sided" about the network's roster of international programming.

Although *World* has been saved by a one-year, \$500,000 commitment from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, it is being reduced from a series to a "big-event forum." That leaves PBS with no regular international program, and the network intends to rely on occasional international news coverage in the *McNeil-Lehrer Report*, the Bill Moyers show, *Ben Wattenberg's 1980s*, and a few specials like the July 7 screening of *The War Called Peace*, a 90-minute examination of the U.S.-Soviet relationship, which presents a "hard-line view," Chase said.

The "underlying assumption" of *The War Called Peace*, Chase

said, is that "the U.S. can't afford to be a second-rate power" and the conclusions are that "the Russians probably don't want what we consider peaceful coexistence but want to turn the world into a socialist paradise and that effective deterrence is a necessity because you can't fight fire with anything but water." Part of this deterrence, the show concludes, is "public relations machinery to counter the Soviets' propaganda."

Public TV executives "are very closely linked to the White House, the State Department

and CIA-funded think tanks," charged *Blacks Britannica* producer David Koff. In setting up the *World* series, for example, most of the board of advisers came from the White House, the State Department or the "Charles River Gang" of academics from Boston who swing through the federal government's revolving door.

One academic, who asked not to be named, went to work for the U.S. Information Agency and has returned to Cambridge. He was—and is—frequently consulted by public TV producers and programmers. "It's only natural to talk to people who know a lot about an international issue," he explained, "especially when it's a touchy question and someone is screaming 'artistic freedom' to keep inaccurate or damaging facts in a film."

Pervasive, loose contact between the government and public TV obviates the need for more overt strong-arm tactics by the State Department or other agencies concerned about a program's international repercussions, according to producers, television executives and government officials.

"Government interference was much rougher in the Nixon years," one station manager said, "when we didn't just get polite notes like WGBH did about *Princess*."

"Station programmers show minimal interest in the Third World or other potentially controversial international events," said one independent filmmaker who tried, unsuccessfully, to persuade public television stations to air his films about colonization in Africa.

"Commercial television is more controversial—more 'public'—than so-called public television," said Lynne Bernabei.

"Sponsors aren't interested in non-fiction programming," said David Loxton, who heads TV Lab (producing NonFiction TV) at WNET. "They want to stay out of issue-oriented shows and stick with entertainment."

The lack of controversial shows about international events is due, according to Loxton, "to economics, not to a conspiracy. The simple fact is that the people who run public TV, the people who do the programming and the people who do the paying, aren't interested in anything but entertainment."

Even station managers and PBS officials admit that their limited budgets, and the sources of most of their money—from Congress through the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and from large corporations—lead to "passive censorship," in one producer's words.

Beth Bogart is a Washington writer.

CULTURE SHOCK

THAT'S ENTERTAINMENT

Muppet creator Jim Henson now offers "Muppet Meeting Films" to corporations wanting something to lighten up a meeting mood. For \$300, reports Zodiac, you can get a short called "Sell, sell, sell."

CULTURAL EXPORTS

The J.R.-murder episode of *Dallas* pulled in an audience of 20,000,000 in Britain. Further, \$135,000 was wagered on the event. British bookies gave 33-to-1 odds that J.R. was a suicide. Payout comes next fall, with the fall *Dallas* series.

Tax cuts

Continued from page 3.

tion or early next year. In the meantime, administration officials oppose any rush job that might become hostage to the presidential campaign. They talk about a tax cut targeted to those individuals and industries that need it the most, and designed to encourage recovery without igniting another round of inflation.

These principles are sound, but there is little indication how a Democratic tax cut would differ in principle from a Republican one. The numbers are smaller, but the direction is the same—toward more tax breaks for businesses as opposed to individuals, toward yet another (albeit, far more modest) liberalization of depreciation schedules. Perhaps the most truthful moment in the last few weeks of congressional hearings was when Secretary Miller, long a partisan of accelerated depreciation, told Senator William Roth, co-author of the Kemp-Roth Bill, "I think we are more in agreement than it seems."

This is the case for the simple reason that the business community has established the boundaries of the debate. "The whole tax area is the province of the business lobbyists," said Melissa Brown of Taxation With Representation. "Let's face it, they hold all the cards." A recent TWR study revealed that business-oriented groups focusing on tax policy outspend their counterparts by 25 to one. The American Council for Capital Formation, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the Heritage Foundation and other conservative organizations have a total annual budget of \$7.5 million targeted for tax issues. Their liberal rivals—primarily the Tax Reform Research Group and Citizens for Tax Justice—spend about \$300,000 a year.

It is therefore no surprise that the trend over the past 10 years has been one of steadily declining taxes for American corporations—an effective tax cut of 30 percent. The share of federal revenues supplied by corporate taxes has dropped from 19.5 percent in fiscal year 1969 to an estimated 14.1 percent in 1980. According to a recent study commissioned by Representative Charles Vanik, this share could drop as low as 5 percent by

1985. This trend, says Vanik, "destroys the conservative myth that there is a need for across-the-board corporate tax relief or that corporate tax cuts in the past have resulted in increased tax receipts." For Robert McIntyre, it represents "a tremendous shift of the tax burden from business to individuals, from capital to labor."

Given the present political situation, prospects for genuine tax reform in the near future are slim. Some kind of tax cut should probably be enacted in 1981 to offset Social Security increases, recycle the monies collected under the windfall profits tax, and counter the effects of bracket creep. One proposal, more equitable than the rest, is that of Congressman Richard Gephardt to provide a tax credit equal to 10 percent of Social Security payments in 1981 and '82.

In the long term, the only way to fight corporate-mandated tax breaks for business is to demand that tax policy be subordinated to a wider, more comprehensive process of social control of investment. But Americans cannot depend on either the Republicans or the Democrats to do this. It will take a broad-based social movement built on an agenda of economic democracy.

Labor

Continued from page 13.

to eliminate voice voting. As independence loomed, they demanded a voice in the making of the new state constitutions; in New York a Committee of Mechanics claimed "a birthright" to accept or reject a constitution drafted by others; in Philadelphia they wanted a direct voice via "men of like passion and interests with ourselves." Where the political system accommodated them, as did the Boston town meeting, they made no demands for change.

In the states with big cities, the greater the mechanic influence and mechanic consciousness, the more democratic the constitution. Pennsylvania was the most radically democratic, Massachusetts and South Carolina the least, New York somewhere in between. The Pennsylvania constitution came closest to a democratic ideal: a one-house legislature, annual elections, a near-universal male suffrage open to all who served in the militia, public office without property qualifications,

rotation in office, a provision for public education.

Whatever the new institutions, there was increased mechanic participation in the political process. In the 1780s and 1790s more mechanics voted, more mechanic committees endorsed candidates, and more mechanics ran for and were elected to office.

Mechanics came out of seven years of war with a heightened sense of their importance as citizens. They were proud of what they had helped create. And they demanded equal rights, and respect for their opinions and interests. They were suspicious of men of great wealth. They were not hostile to merchants as a class or to commerce or property. But they distrusted "proud aristocrats" or "great and overgrown rich men" who did not respect their rights.

Mechanics expressed pride in themselves as the producers of the wealth of society. The New York society's certificate portrayed a carpenter at his lathe, a housewright putting up a building, shipwrights in the yards, a smith at his forge and a farmer at his plow. The central symbol, repeated in Charleston and Providence, was the raised muscular arm of a workman, his fist clenched around a sledge hammer. The motto was "By Hammer and Hand All Arts do Stand," in Charleston varied to "Industry Produceth all Wealth." It was a proud assertion that the "mechanic and useful arts" were the basis of all wealth.

Mechanics also developed a national economic program: support for American commerce, which would sustain the maritime trades, and the encouragement of American manufactures. From the mid-1780s, mechanics in the major cities demanded a stronger national government to protect them from the ruinous renewal of British competition in shipping and imports.

With a political outlook such as this, mechanics could enter into a coalition with other "interests." In 1787-88 they saw in the new federal constitution, drafted by middle-of-the-road conservatives, the fulfillment of many of their aspirations for the Revolution. They showed this in the parades in celebration of ratification—the first labor parades in American history. In every major American city, mechanics marched by

the thousands with other citizens.

This, then, was artisan republicanism: a conviction that mechanics were citizens entitled to equal rights and to an equal voice in their government, a pride of craft, and a pride in labor as the source of wealth. It was based on the assumption that it was their Revolution, their war, their nation.

They passed on these traditions. The Fourth of July began, as early as the 1790s, as a holiday celebrated by mechanics. By the 1830s the new unions and labor parties treated the Fourth of July as a day to renew "the spirit of '76."

As the economy changed and journeymen came into more conflict with masters, artisan republicanism came under severe strains. Masters, as the journeymen shoemakers said in Philadelphia in 1805, were "only the retailers of our labor...who in truth live upon the work of our hands." Masters were now "capitalists," not producers.

It was left to journeymen to push the ideals of artisan republicanism into new terrain. In 1809 the Journeymen House Carpenters of New York began their strike declaration with the words of the Declaration of Independence: "Among the unalienable rights of man are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." "By the social compact," they continued, "every class in society"—in itself a new phrase—"ought to be entitled to benefit in proportion to its usefulness"—a bold notion that made themselves, as the producers, more important than merchants or masters. They asked for compensation "not only for the current expenses of livelihood" but "for the formation of a fund" to support them in old age—what later generations would call social security.

They were drawing on the traditions of the American Revolution and of artisan republicanism. The labor movement in the nineteenth century would do the same as it confronted new enemies: monied aristocrats, the slave power and the robber barons.

Alfred Young, Professor of History at Northern Illinois University, is at work on a book, *The Craftsman as Citizen and the Shaping of the Nation*. His most recent book is *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism*.

CALENDAR

SANTA CRUZ, CA

August 18

Santa Cruz, Monterey and San Jose readers of IN THESE TIMES can meet and hear ITT correspondent DIANA JOHNSTONE Monday night, Aug. 18, in the Loudon Nelson Center on Laurel Street in Santa Cruz. Diana will talk on "How the Left Looks from the Left Bank (in Paris)," and for only \$1.50 at the door. Call Hugh and Dorothy De Lacy at 475-6039 or Greta Davis at 476-9088 for further information, but call Bill Domhoff if you want to know what's happening.

August 23-27

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS OF ENERGY IN THE '80S will be the major theme of the annual SUMMER CONFERENCE OF THE UNION FOR RADICAL POLITICAL ECONOMICS on the University of California campus at Santa Cruz. People planning to sleep in the campus accommodations must pre-register.

Write or call URPE, Room 901, 41 Union Square West, NY, NY 10003; (212)691-5722. Best day for one day's attendance will be Sunday, Aug. 24. Day care provided.

WILMINGTON, OH

August 21-25

Come to the DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST ORGANIZING COMMITTEE SUMMER YOUTH CONFERENCE. Hundreds of young activists will gather to discuss left theory and strategy. Invited speakers include: Michael Harrington, Norman Birnbaum, Sara Evans, Roberta Lynch and James Farmer. Registration (includes all meals) is \$75.00. Limited travel scholarships available. Contact DSOC, 853 Broadway, Rm. 801, New York, NY 10003. (212)260-3270.

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

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The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of *In These Times*. Each organization has paid a fee for its listing.

Citizens Energy Project
1110 6th Street, NW, #300
Washington, DC 20001

The Citizens Party-National Office
525 13th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20004

The Citizens Party of Illinois
109 N. Dearborn, Suite 603
Chicago, IL 60602
(312) 332-2066

Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy
120 Maryland Ave., N.E.
Washington, DC 20002

C.O.I.N.-Consumers Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities
2000 P Street, N.W.
Suite 413
Washington, DC 20036

DSOC-Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee
853 Broadway, Room 801
New York, NY 10003

Midwest Academy
600 West Fullerton Ave.
Chicago, IL 60614

National Center for Economic Alternatives

2000 P Street, N.W.
Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036

NAM-New American Movement
3244 N. Clark St.
Chicago, IL 60657

New Patriot Alliance
343 S. Dearborn, Room 305
Chicago, IL 60604

Science for the People
897 Main Street
Cambridge, MA 02139

Socialist Party, U.S.A.
Suite 325
135 W. Wells Street
Milwaukee, WI 53203

Working Women
1258 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44111

exiled

Continued from page 24.

inflation will soon lead to completely new sorts of civil strife and labor struggles."

The terrorist episode in West Germany seems over, and the spectacle of the debacle has reinforced tendencies toward non-violence and pacifism in the young left. Where technological development enables the state to penetrate citizens' secrets, the insistence on bearing witness, the refusal to have secrets, the rejection of violence may appear the

most appropriate mode of resistance and opposition. This approach, perfected in East Germany by Biermann and his close friend and mentor, 70-year-old physicist and dissident Marxist Robert Havemann, is present also in West Germany.

Like Havemann, Biermann's main political reference is Rosa Luxemburg. He stops in the middle of songs to quote Rosa Luxemburg's criticism of the course taken by the Russian revolution: "A dictatorship not of the proletariat but of politicians...Without general elections, without an uninhibited press, freedom of assembly and free conflict of ideas, the life of any institution dies out..."

East Germany needs—yes finally!—

Rosa's red democracy

That exhortation, from one of his best-known songs going back to East Berlin days, "So should it be, so will it be," is paired with another:

German unity—we won't sit back

And leave the theme to the fascist pack

We want unity—our own, the best

The left together in East and West

to bring the wall down

West Germany needs its own CP

Like the one I saw blooming in Italy

Meanwhile, everybody is together under the threat of World War III:

A hail of atom rockets fell
Down from a clear blue sky
Most of the bombs arrived
too late

There was nothing left to die
It's still wintertime
Long white evenings
weep in the snow
Just to be alive
in the cold wind, Karen
is a good thing.

The earth turned into a ship of the dead

A red round running sore
The stars were no longer a
wondrous sight

No one saw them anymore.

IN THESE TIMES AUG. 13-26, 1980 23

Lucky for Germany's neighbors, another song goes, that Germany is divided into two enemy parts holding each other in check. One in NATO and the other in the Warsaw Pact, both are true German to the death, half uppity and half goody-goody with their respective masters. In the West, money brings power, but in the East, power brings wealth. In both, the workers continue to sell their labor force on the market and fight the battle of production as if it were their own...

East Germany or West Germany, Biermann never left home and never found it. The only move left is to change both of them.

CLASSIFIED

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ASSISTANT DIRECTOR for Los Angeles-based change-oriented foundation. Responsibilities include administration, grants evaluation, and fundraising. Salary: \$13-15,000 plus benefits. Contact: Liberty Hill Foundation, P.O. Box 1074, Venice, CA 90291, (213)392-8397.

LICENSED PSYCHOTHERAPIST, with much experience leading groups, and family therapy experience. \$15,000/yr. Send resume and statement of your approach to therapy, politics, class and trade unions. The Institute for Labor and Mental Health, 3137 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, CA 94606.

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monthly health publication. Three years editorial experience. Send resume and writing/editing samples by Aug. 30. Health/Pac, 17 Murray St., New York, NY 10007.

ECONOMIST — Staff economist needed for small public interest economics firm specializing in the negative impact of military spending upon the economy. Needs staff member with strong background in economics, statistics and social issues. Minimum: Bachelor's degree in economics required. Women are encouraged to apply. Send resume to: Employment Research Associates, Attention: Marion Anderson, 400 S. Washington, Lansing, MI 48933. Or call: (517)485-7655.

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EDUCATIONAL COORDINATOR—Business consulting organization offering technical assistance to worker cooperatives seeks staff person to oversee design and implementation of workforce education program. Must have 3-5 years experience in adult ed., community or labor organizing, knowledge of organizational design and willingness to travel. Applications from women and minorities encouraged. Salary: \$15,000-\$18,000. Send resume to: Education Dept., ICA, 2161 Mass. Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140. An Equal Opportunity Employer.

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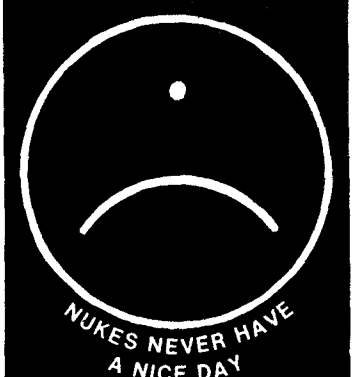
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WOLF BIERMANN IS A CONSCIENCE with a guitar. He personifies the murdered German left, back to haunt and taunt its murderers. The stubborn conscience, angry and sentimental, who won't shut up.

For that he was thrown out of East Germany nearly four years ago. He lives in exile in Hamburg—the city where he was born, back in 1936.

Not everyone can be an exile in his home town. But Biermann's real home is a communism that doesn't exist anywhere. He inherited it from his father, Dagobert Biermann, shipyard worker, Communist, militant anti-Nazi, who died in Auschwitz in 1943. It is this birthright that steels the impertinent poet-singer with something more constant than rebellion: a sacred fidelity.

If I forget you, communism... Biermann slips a trace of Jewish lament into the "Great Prayer" of his old communist grandmother in Hamburg, who implores, toward the end of her life, "Oh God, please you make communism triumph!" Because, from the looks of things, nobody else will...

In 1953, when he was 17, Biermann chose to take his grain of salt to the Democratic Republic, the Germany that claimed to be communist. He was not the only survivor of a slaughtered cause to make that choice. The trauma of seeing their own nation plunge into Nazi madness taught the surviving heirs to Karl Marx and Rosa Luxemburg an exceptional patience and modesty. There are real socialists in East Germany, that is, who don't consider the bureaucratic model imposed by the Russians to be real socialism.

Biermann summed it up in a verse.

*The profiteers have been chased away
The people toil all day long
The factories belong to the people—
But*

*To whom do the people belong?
Since words are still taken seriously in*

the East, Stasi (state security) agents were soon hovering around with their electronic bugs to catch every one. Biermann's troubles with the authorities only helped make him a legendary hero among East German youth. His Chausseestrasse flat in East Berlin became the center of pilgrimages to the shrine of failed and future revolutions, where the saint would take out his guitar and sing his poems.

This inspirational work often left the poet-performer like "a plundered arsenal, hanging knocked out on the strings of my guitar, voiceless and faceless, mute from talking, blind from gazing, afraid of my own fear..." But Biermann's faith feeds on doubt. The opposite of triumphalism, it draws strength from facing defeats of all kinds.

Biermann's home performances were demonstrations of a style of political resistance meant to set an example. It involved being completely honest at all times. "In East Germany, if three people get together, there is at least one cop. Conspiracy is out of the question," he has recalled. "My friends and I always acted quite openly; it was the only valid solution." This approach upset GDR rulers so much they could think of nothing better to do than let Biermann out in November 1976 for a concert in West Germany, only to slam the door shut after him and take away his citizenship.

Many of his songs were too steeped in the East German experience to be fully appreciated elsewhere. By throwing him out, the GDR government cut the social critic off from his source of inspiration and his public. And his defensive-offensive system of criticizing an officially communist regime from a communist viewpoint was hardly applicable in the West.

Forced into exile in his native land, Biermann's main concern was "not to turn into a professional dissident, not to be trotted around the West as an expert on the East—and yet, manage to share experience." Wary of West Germany's fragmented left, he joined the Hamburg section of the Spanish Communist Party—another act of filial piety in memory of Dagobert Biermann, who helped sabotage Nazi arms cargos to Franco. He chooses his audiences carefully: metal workers in West Germany, auto workers in Italy, leftist groups in Spain and Greece. He sings inspirational poems like his "Encouragement Song" to big audiences in the same way he would sing to a few visitors in Chausseestrasse.

Don't let yourself be hardened

In these hard times

The hard ones break

The sharp ones stick

And soon are broken off

Don't let yourself get bitter

In these bitter times

Rulers may tremble

—even if you are behind bars—

But not at your distress

Don't let yourself be frightened

In these fearful times

That's just what they want

For you to throw down your arms

Before the battle starts

Don't let yourself be used

Use your time well

You mustn't go under

You need us, and we

Need your cheerfulness

After such concerts, young Germans come up to ask him how he is surviving, how to survive. The beleaguered West German left has taken Biermann to its heart and gradually changed some of his attitudes.

"When I came from Germany to Germany," goes one of his songs, everything and nothing was changed.

Western newspaper writers

Lie freely, anything goes

But their good Eastern colleagues

Lie properly, as they're supposed

In West Germany, Biermann changed his mind about nuclear power. He arrived suspicious of back-to-nature romantics, Luddites and a frustrated left turning against scientific progress. Now he is convinced the danger is real. He has sung on behalf of the Gorleben protesters, whose ecological village on the projected site of West Germany's first nuclear waste reprocessing plant was recently smashed in a characteristically relentless military operation.

"German unity is making the wrong kind of progress. The two states are learning from each other," he has said. "West Germany is rapidly becoming a modern police state." The huge uproar over a handful of terrorists has enabled the state to arm for the coming social battles. "Even a newcomer like me can see that the current unemployment and

Continued on page 23.

Exiled in the Fatherland



Poet-singer Wolf Biermann, bounced "from Germany to Germany" for his iconoclastic views, has become a legendary hero in East and West.

by diana johnstone